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# RESEARCH STUDIES

## OF THE

# STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON



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Pullman, Washington



RESEARCH STUDIES  
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# RESEARCH STUDIES of the STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON

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## SOCIOLOGY IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF A QUARTER-CENTURY<sup>1</sup>

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Looking back at the past is a frequent practice, but one that is, in the main, sentimental and fruitless, an antic of oldsters who have lost faith in a future and are at odds with the present. Nevertheless, I here propose to look back over the last quarter-century of sociology in order to gain a perspective with which to evaluate the present status and the future prospects of our discipline.

A quarter-century ago, sociology consisted mainly of good intentions, a body of slight and doubtful data, a collection of antiquated moral principles, and some shaky theoretical concepts. There can be no doubt that the sociologists of the day came to their examination of society with the best of intentions. In fact, they went out of their way to prove that sociology was a science and that all that they had to say about society was derived directly from scientific study of the body social. In fact, they sometimes went so far out of the way to prove the scientific basis for all that they would have to say that they had no time to say anything.

It was the practice in those days, for example, for the textbook writer to devote a long opening chapter—very often a number of long opening chapters—to demonstrating beyond any reasonable doubt that sociology was a science in spite, alas, of innumerable and well-nigh insurmountable handicaps, and, alas, in spite of carping critics who should know better. Elsewhere, too, this insistence upon the scientific status of sociology was so strong as to suggest a pathological basis, a "protesting too much," or, in current verbiage, an aggressiveness that could originate only in persistent and painful frustration.

As a student I was thoroughly indoctrinated into this sociological neurosis—taught to feel on the defensive, to apologize, albeit belligerently, for the undeniable inadequacies of the discipline, and to insist on all possible occasions that sociology is a science, which is in itself some-

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<sup>1</sup> Presidential Address delivered to the Pacific Sociological Society, April 30, 1948.

what tautological. And if you would like to know now what I shall say during the coming hour or two, it is that, though I have finally recovered from that neurosis, I still fear that the tradition upon which it was based has not yet been entirely dissipated.

Twenty-five years ago the data of sociology consisted almost entirely of casual personal observations, inferences from historical records, dubious anthropological reports on primitives, and "facts" culled from the Census reports. Here and there men were attempting to make direct study of social phenomena, and an occasional report on such a study is to be found in the literature of the time. But the vast majority of sociological writing in this period consisted of the presentation and defense of sociologists' opinions on social matters. And those opinions were in the main the opinions of staunch Christians, many of them actually men who had come to sociology via the theological seminary.

Now I have nothing against Christians or Christianity. But Christianity is a religion, and a religion is not science. The two realms are not necessarily opposed, as is so often mistakenly believed, but they are discrete. And so the sociology of good Christians was simply scientistic moralizing—a pleading, in pseudoscientific mode, against poverty, improvidence, prostitution, divorce, wife-beating, drunkenness, and the decline in church attendance. Non-Christian sociologists—and there were some of these—were likely to be socialists in sociological garb, differing from the Christians only in that they were promoting an untried system of social morality rather than an old and discarded one.

There were some sociologists then, as now, who were striving to achieve a significant degree of scientific objectivity. But even these men were prone to veer off toward the end of any discourse in the direction of moralizing. For one thing, most of the then-current theoretical concepts were distinctly evaluatory. Progress, for example, was quite generally assumed to be a process inherent in society. And each sociologist, of course, had his own idea of what constituted social progress.

Many of the other theoretical concepts that were current a quarter-century ago were deemed important mainly because they seemed to deny the possibility of social progress. Two of these concepts will perhaps suffice to illustrate the point: the instinct theory and that of the four wishes, both of which were much discussed in sociological circles during the early 1920's.

The original instinct theory held that all social behavior is genetically determined, that man is by nature a social animal, and that society is but the sum of the instinctive actions of the members of the social group. About

1920 this thesis was married to a simplified version of Freudianism, and the resulting offspring was a distressing theory that man is by nature subsocial—a creature of bestial instincts who must be socially coerced to live in peace with his fellows. Society, then, is an agency of repression. The individual, denied opportunity to express his inherent instincts, is everywhere and at all times frustrated. Hence war, riots, insanity, and other "social problems." For these there can be no cure; thus, for society there can be no progress.

The four-wish theory was, of course, just a social-instinct concept in new terminology. Its implications for "progress" were perhaps not so pessimistic as the then-current version of instinctivism; but its effects upon sociology were quite as stultifying. For many sociologists the four wishes became dogma; sociological study became the collection of data that could be forced into one or another of the wish categories; and sociological analysis became the drawing of increasingly fine—and ridiculous—distinctions between the wishes.

Now then! Put present-day sociology against the backdrop of sociology twenty-five years ago, and the contrast is marked and distinctly reassuring. The good scientific intentions of that time have become in large measure the actualities of today; we now have at our command a variety of fairly adequate methodological devices, and the scientific attitude, including a healthy scepticism of things as they look at first glance to be, has become embodied in our very culture. We have, moreover, acquired a vast if incomplete body of data on society through the application of these methodological devices; and the current stress upon definitive research projects is assurance that this body of data will continue to be enlarged and refined. No longer is the sociologist dependent upon dubious historical materials and personal observation. He has available to him the results of a great many studies of society in action, some intensive, some cross-sectional, some quantitative, and some case-history in type.

I do not mean to suggest that we have or in the foreseeable future shall have run out of new fields to conquer, as the classicists did a half-century ago and as the physical geographers seem to have done more recently. Actually we know very little about the working of society at present; but we do know something, and twenty-five years ago we knew for certain almost nothing at all. Today, we can at least peg down our theoretical musings to an occasional fact; then, sociologists could tie their theorizing only to their moral convictions.

I think that I am correct in saying that the concept of social relativism has become basic to contemporary sociology. This concept involves, among

other things, a denial of the right of the sociologist to pass judgments on social facts—to moralize. "Values," in the current jargon, are data for sociology but not guideposts for the sociologist. There are, it is true, still some among our number who hold to the early view, who decry what is and strive to shape society to their ideas of what should be. But they are in a diminishing minority. Most sociologists, young and old, strive to maintain an objective and therefore value-free orientation toward their data. They often fail, for sociologists are somewhat human. But the prevalence of sociological objectivity today is in marked contrast to the almost universal subjectivity of twenty-five years ago.

Practically all the concepts that were popular twenty-five years ago have either been discarded *in toto* or so remodeled that they are hardly recognizable. The instincts and the wishes are as dead as the dodo. In their place has appeared a revised and elaborated and at points factually substantiated Cooley view of the social genesis of the individual personality. Progress, too, is dead; in its place we have a reasonably non-evaluatory revision and elaboration of Ogburn's social-change thesis. The "folksy" idea of social causation that was prevalent in the 1920's has given way, as our actual knowledge of society has increased, to the more complex but more valid idea of multiple and interdependent causation. In fact, the sociologist rarely uses the term "cause" these days but speaks instead of "interaction." That term has been abused, as all terms are. But it typically represents a realization that any particularization is *per se* invalid. What causes juvenile delinquency? Crime movies? Bad parental example? Poverty? Poor genes? Inadequate playgrounds? The modern sociologist is sufficiently sophisticated in the scientific mode to shrug such questions off. They just do not make scientific sense; and yet they did seem to make sociological sense when I first began the study of sociology.

We do have with us a few word merchants who spin grandiose theoretical systems out of the data provided by their dictionaries, and I should be remiss were I to ignore them and the threat to sociology that they represent. Because I am presumably among friends and shall not be held too strictly to account, I venture to be specific. Sociology is a peculiarly American development. We have been fortunate in that, although many came to our discipline via Christian theology, few came to it by way of the kind of philosophy that has held European pseudo-sociologists in wordy bondage. We have been hampered by moralistic and reformistic impulses; but we have not been very greatly bemused by the traditional European impulse to integrate all human ignorance into a vast and misty philosophical system.

Most of us are familiar with the philosophy of Marx, at least superficially; but very few of us are equally well acquainted with Hegelianism. The very intellectual mode that Hegel represents is a violation of our intellectual frame of reference. And it is, I suspect, because of this that we have thus far been able to ride out the storms of words to which we have occasionally been subjected by alien scholars. We have, at any event, shrugged off Pareto; and we seem to be living down Weber, von Wiese, and others, in spite of the best efforts of such advocates of Germanic mysticism as Howard Becker. It is evident that MacIver's dehydrated Hegelianism continues to have a loyal following. There is some danger that the sociologists of knowledge will turn out to be only the high priests of Mannheim. And the Toynbee of sociology, Sorokin, must have some adherents, or he would not be able to secure publication of his colossal fiction in version after version.

On the whole, however, American sociologists seem for the present to be content to examine society without systematic bias. And I am rather confident that we shall be able to retain sufficient "superficiality," as the philosophers describe it, that our knowledge may grow and our ignorance diminish.

There is, however, one factor in current sociology that is most disturbing. This is the tendency, a heritage from early days, for sociologists to feel apologetic about the state of sociology and to be on the defensive regarding it. No longer do we write long-winded and belligerent discourses to prove to ourselves, and presumably to our readers, that we are scientific. At least most of us do not. But we do write altogether too many introductory chapters, too many journal articles, and too many opening paragraphs to other articles that examine the scientific basis of sociology. Were we not uncertain of ourselves, we should not be so self-consciously concerned with our being recognized as scientists. It is to be noted that the antecedent sciences of physics, chemistry, and biology are little concerned with what constitutes being scientific, what scientific methodology is, and the like; and that the high priests of these disciplines proceed, as they should, with complete, if sometimes misplaced, confidence in their powers.

We should now be doing likewise; and if we were, much time would be saved for productive enterprise that now is dissipated in defensive action. And the fact is, as I see it at present, that though we have no reason to be complacent, we have many reasons to be proudly confident. Because we are not, we attack our labors with undue hesitation and report our findings with overcaution, with such timid qualification of every statement with "maybe," "possibly," "in some measure," or the like that one undergraduate student

of the subject was led to define sociology as "the science of the subjunctive." Caution is a necessary attribute of the scientist in any field; but timidity is quite another thing. For myself, I prefer that a man be clear and definitive, whether he be right or wrong. To weasel on everything is to be in the end nothing.

Perhaps sociologists are not really defensive regarding the scientific nature of sociology. Perhaps I am viewing sociology today chiefly with the eyes of memory—the memory of what was, back in the days when I was a neophyte. But if I am correct in my interpretation, then what I shall now say may be considered as a pep talk or, to be a bit verbose, an uplifting discourse on the comparative merits of sociology as a social science.

Ordinarily sociologists measure sociology in terms of the achievements of one or another of the physical or biological sciences, usually physics. This I take as a sign of sociological humility, for there is no reason why we should set our attainments against those of physics. That as sociological technicians we cannot build a United Nations organization as certain to preserve the peace as the physicists' atom bombs are certain to destroy it is perhaps cause for regret, but it is no reason for us to feel ashamed. After all, no one in authority has ever given us the full resources of a great nation and told us to go ahead and see what we could do. What we get, if anything, is carfare home. After all, too, atoms are very simple in comparison with men. And for every sociologist, there must be a good dozen physicists.

The point is that any comparison of sociology with physics, chemistry, or biology is by nature invidious. We should compare our attainments with those of men who work with comparable materials—with those of the other social scientists. And I am very confident that an objective comparison of contemporary sociology with contemporary political science, economics, or psychology will be heartening to any open-minded sociologist. That it may dishearten the political scientist, economist, or psychologist is not our fault, but theirs.

There are many more political scientists, economists, and psychologists than there are sociologists. Each of these disciplines publishes a greater volume of articles, monographs, and texts than we do; and each is much more highly subsidized. Quantitatively, our comparative position is weak. Qualitatively, however, our comparative position is very strong.

Political science, which began to break away from "political economy" at about the time that sociology was also emerging as a separate discipline, is currently enjoying a tremendous boom. The intense postwar concern of the layman with governmental matters has given to the political scientist a

social status far above that of the sociologist. By and large political scientists have risen to the occasion, for they display none of that timidity and self-consciousness which seems to me to be the one real inadequacy of sociologists. But whereas sociologists have little reason to be humble, political scientists have little claim to being scientists. On the whole, they are simply political advocates—for representative government, against totalitarianism; for the United Nations, and against war, at least during times of peace. They are political moralists, even as sociologists were ethical moralists a quarter-century ago. And what passes for research in political science is but contemporary political history, whereas what passes for theory is ancient political dogma.

I do not mean to brush off political science, and I certainly do not want to seem to be contemptuous of the efforts of my political colleagues. I simply say, and it is a studied and reasoned statement, that what is called political science is in actuality political technology. Those who call themselves political scientists are political technicians; and honesty demands that we go on to say that they are political technicians without a science upon which to base their technology.

As for economists, I think that they have made some advance during the past two decades. There was much room for advancement, and there still is. The economists got off to a bad start, although they did not apparently know that, and many still do not. They began with a fully developed theology—the classical doctrine—and for a good century and a half they were nothing more than rationalizers of an economic system that probably never did exist except in their own imaginations and that most certainly does not exist in this present day and age. The growing popularity of anti-capitalistic ideology after World War I, the failure of Communistic Russia to fall apart at the seams—as economists had hopefully predicted—and the partial collapse of Western capitalism in the late 'twenties shocked economists out of their classical dream and set a few of them to examining the actual facts of economic life. They did not get very far in this endeavor, and most of them are still engaged in theological disputation over minute aspects of such natural laws—passed, presumably, by Adam Smith—as that of supply and demand, marginal utility, and diminishing costs.

In recent years the long-standing vogue for theoretical speculation has been somewhat subordinated to research endeavors. The practical desirability of ascertaining the causes of fluctuations in economic activity has encouraged quantitative researches into the national income and similar matters. The result is a growing body of knowledge concerning the bookkeeping trans-



actions of modern society. But modern economists, even those who pride themselves on their research interests, seem no more inclined to study economic activities in process than did the pure theorists of earlier times. And so far, at least, the study of the economics of bookkeeping—market prices and their fluctuation, production totals, labor supply, and so forth—has not been very fruitful. It may be that before economists can actually learn anything significant about economic life, they will have to go out and study men working in the fields, the factories, the market places, and the counting houses. So far, they show little inclination to do so.

Twenty years ago, I should have unhesitatingly said that psychology was the most truly scientific of all the social sciences. Ten years ago, I should probably have said the same, although with somewhat less assurance. I still feel that psychology has accumulated a larger body of data and has validated more hypotheses than we have. But I am sorely afraid that psychology is at present distinctly retrogressive.

Over the past ten years or so, psychologists have broken into two clear-cut camps; and the vigorous left-wing group is noisily running away with the show. No longer do psychologists of distinction plod grimly after the elusive fact. Today they scream from journal and text and platform that psychology can and will cure every social ill. And they are not at all hesitant to point out the ills in need of cure; nor are they abashed by the fact that they are doing in different terms exactly what they damned sociologists for doing two decades earlier—moralizing. The strange fact is that, whereas we have slowly and laboriously torn off the blinds of a local and temporal system of value-judgments and have thereby gained an objective view of social matters, many psychologists have put on smoked glasses through which they view the world darkly and in terms of the party line of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues.

In the foregoing I have, of course, presented our sister sciences in the worst possible light; but I do not believe that I have exaggerated very much. And I do believe that by comparison with our sister sciences, we have much to be proud of. We are not without our faults; but we are out of the moralistic woods, we have begun the climb toward a true and presumably useful science of society, and we should neither look back to the dark place whence we have come nor blush for the days when we lived in shadow. There have been times during the past twenty-five years when I have ardently wished that I had taken another road and become a psychologist, an economist, or even a political scientist. But this is not one of those times. Now, on the contrary, I think of my choice of sociology as a wise and foresighted one.

## PREDICTING SUCCESS OR FAILURE IN MARRIAGE

C. W. TOPPING

*The University of British Columbia*

This study of the Canadian family was set up<sup>1</sup> to test the validity of the hypotheses of Burgess and Cottrell.<sup>2</sup>

The present report deals with only one aspect of the Canadian sample—post-marital attitudes and experiences—and focuses attention on 104 happily married couples. The attitudes and experiences of this group are compared with those of couples of average happiness. They are also related to those of the Illinois sample of Burgess and Cottrell.

*Agreements and Disagreements.* The Burgess and Cottrell Questionnaire classifies agreements and disagreements into five categories ranging from "always agree" to "always disagree." On what matters do the very happily married of the Canadian sample always agree? How do such agreements and disagreements differ from those of couples of average happiness? Chart I presents areas of absolute agreement by percentage of couples in these two categories. The findings indicate that the items of agreement and disagreement included in the Burgess and Cottrell Questionnaire do differentiate the "very happily married" from couples of "average happiness." On no item does a higher percentage of couples of "average happiness" always agree than the percentage of "very happily married" couples. There is, in fact, only one item on which the percentage of couples of "average happiness" who always agree exceeds fifty per cent of the "very happily married" who always agree on this item.

For both the "very happy" and the "average happiness" groups, the item on which the greatest number of couples were in absolute agreement was religion (77.8 per cent and 40 per cent, respectively). With this exception, items ranked in a different order for the two groupings. Of the couples of "average happiness," one in four always agreed on the handling of family finances and on the treatment of the in-laws; one in five on demonstrations of affection, recreation, and friends; one in seven on intimate relations and matters of conventionality; and one in ten on table manners. With the "very happily married," religion ranks first, demonstrations of affection second, finances third, intimate relations fourth, and friends last.

The number of cases in the "happily married" and the "very unhappily married" categories were considered insufficient for significant generalization,

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<sup>1</sup> Under a grant-in-aid from the Social Science Research Council.

<sup>2</sup> E. W. Burgess and L. S. Cottrell, *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939).

The percentage of the group very happily married and of the group strongly unhappy was higher among the very happily married items ranked in order of significance for the "very happily married."

Item	00	20	40	60	80	100%
Religion	Percentage of group "very happily married."					
Demonstrations of Affection	Percentage of group of "average happiness" who always agree on this item.					
Finances	Percentage of group of "average happiness" who always agree on this item.					
Intimate Relations	Percentage of group of "average happiness" who always agree on this item.					
Table Manners	Percentage of group of "average happiness" who always agree on this item.					
Philosophy of Life	Percentage of group of "average happiness" who always agree on this item.					
Recreation	Percentage of group of "average happiness" who always agree on this item.					
Handling of In-laws	Percentage of group of "average happiness" who always agree on this item.					
Matters of Conventionality	Percentage of group of "average happiness" who always agree on this item.					
Friends	Percentage of group of "average happiness" who always agree on this item.					
	00	20	40	60	80	100%

but the ranking of items of absolute agreement are recorded as a matter of interest. The items for the "happily married" conform with those of the "very happily married." With the "very unhappily married," the rank of the items differs considerably. Table manners ranks first, intimate relations second, finances third, and demonstrations of affection fourth. On only one item is the order the same: friends rank last, as with the "very happily married" and the "happily married."

The findings of Burgess and Cottrell on these ten items have become a part of the literature on the family. Religion and table manners were weighted 5 each, all other items 10 each in the Illinois study.<sup>3</sup> These weightings were based on correlations found to exist between the various items and happiness of couples in the Illinois sample. A threefold classification may make comparison with the Canadian findings less complicated. A correlation of .60 or higher was obtained by Burgess and Cottrell for finances, handling of the in-laws, demonstrations of affection, recreation, philosophy of life, intimate relations, and friends; of .51 for matters of conventionality; and of slightly higher than .30 for religion and for table manners.

Though a correlation of .30 has little, if any, significance, Burgess, Cottrell, and Wallin have retained both religion and table manners in the Revised Questionnaire. Canadian findings indicate that this was a wise decision, inasmuch as religion was found significant in the segregation of the "very happily married" and the "happily married" from the other categories, and table manners was significant in respect to the "very unhappily married" couples. The disagreement as to the order of items in the Illinois and the Canadian samples is much less important than this primary agreement. Refinement of weighting and refinement of prediction can wait. The first task is to construct a Questionnaire which contains the "right" items.

*Number of Common Interests and Activities.* A higher percentage of the whole Canadian sample engaged in some activities together than in all activities together. This was true for the very happy, the happy, the average, the unhappy, and the very unhappy. The significant difference between the "very happily married" and the other groupings was the greater proportionate number who engaged in all activities together. The percentage of the "very happily married" who engaged in all activities together was 43.6; the range

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<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 64. See also E. W. Burgess and Harvey J. Locke, *The Family* (New York: American Book Co., 1945), pp. 775-76 and 785, for a modification of the earlier Questionnaire. All items carry equal weight in this new Questionnaire, and the items "wife's working," "sharing of household tasks," and "politics" have been added.

for the others was from 0 per cent for the unhappy to 27.2 per cent for the happy.

Burgess and Cottrell found a correlation of .76 between happy marriage and joint outside activity. The Canadian findings support the conclusion that joint outside activity is highly conducive to happiness in marriage.

Of the "very happily married," 63.1 per cent of both husbands and wives preferred to stay at home. This contrasted with 60 per cent for couples of "average happiness" and 67.2 per cent for "happily married" couples. For the "very happily married," only 7.7 per cent preferred to be "on the go," as against 15 per cent for couples of "average happiness." This finding is in agreement with conclusions based on the Illinois study.

*Demonstrations of Affection and Mutual Confidence.* The percentage of the "very happily married" who kissed daily was 99.02, as against 70 per cent for couples of "average happiness." The "very happily married" all ranked in the categories "confide in most things" and "confide in everything," with 60.1 per cent in the "confide in everything" grouping as against 5 per cent for couples of "average happiness." Burgess and Cottrell found a correlation of .69 between happiness and frequency of kissing spouse, and of .53 between happiness and confiding in spouse. The Canadian and the Illinois studies are in agreement here.

*Dissatisfaction with Marriage.* The percentage of the very happy who had never wished they had not married was 90.2, as against 40 per cent for couples of average happiness. Of the very happy, 97.1 per cent would have married the same person, as against 50 per cent of the couples of "average happiness." As to complaints concerning the marriage, 42.7 per cent of the very happy couples had no complaints, as against 15 per cent of the "average happiness" group. Again, whereas 34.9 per cent of the "very happily married" had no complaints to make concerning the spouse, only 25 per cent of the couples of "average happiness" fell into this category.

Burgess and Cottrell found the following correlations between happiness and these items: frequency of regretting marriage, .86; marry the same person, .87; number of complaints about the marriage, .55; and number of complaints about the spouse, .53. There is again agreement in the findings of the two studies.

The Questionnaire contained a section on the settlement of disagreements. For the "very happily married," 82.5 per cent of the couples settled disagreements by mutual give and take, with the wife yielding in 4.8 per cent of the families and the husband in 5.8 per cent. Only 30 per cent of couples of "average happiness" settled disagreements by mutual give and

take, with the wife yielding in 50 per cent of the families and the husband in 20 per cent.

Burgess and Cottrell found a correlation of .70 between happiness and the settlement of disagreements. The scoring in the Illinois study discriminated heavily in favor of mutual settlement, a weighting of 10 points to 1. Canadian findings indicate that some discrimination is justified.

#### SUMMARY AND COMPARISON

*The Canadian Sample and the Illinois Sample.* The two samples were similar in that both were urban and Protestant and that the average age of marriage was close. They differed as to the length of time married, with fewer than 50 per cent of the Canadian couples married 1 to 6 years. Other differences canceled each other out.

*The Burgess and Cottrell Questionnaire.* The original Burgess and Cottrell Questionnaire was used in the Illinois study, the Terman California study, and a number of other researches, including the present Canadian project. Three seminar classes at the University of British Columbia have worked through the instrument. The following are representative of the criticisms that have been made: some questions cannot be scored; the questions could be more logically organized; questions requiring information not readily available were left blank; paragraphs were too long; the questions on "complaints" and on "helpful reading" were not sufficiently specific; a joint questionnaire is weighted against the unvarnished truth. The Revised Questionnaire has met most of these criticisms.

The more fundamental points at issue are (a) the adequacy of the questions used, and (b) the weight assigned to each item. The Revised Questionnaire has shown improvement with respect to these matters also, as will be clear from the analysis which follows.

*The Canadian Findings and the Illinois Findings.* That the ten items listed do discriminate between the "very happily married" and other groupings has been demonstrated both in the Illinois and in the Canadian studies. The Canadian findings justify the continued inclusion of religion and of table manners, despite the low correlations found in the Illinois sample. The high percentage of very unhappy couples who always agreed on intimate relations suggests that this item has been overrated as a determinant of well-adjusted marriage. The small percentage of the "very happily married" in the Canadian sample who always agreed on friends suggests that this item should be rechecked in other areas.

Canadian findings support discriminatory weighting in favor of all activities together as against other categories. They also support a higher rating for couples who prefer to stay at home.

The high percentage of very happy Canadian couples who kissed daily should confirm this item in future questionnaires. The finer nuances of the expanded statement in the Revised Questionnaire seem justified. The clear differentiation in the Canadian sample between very happy couples and couples of average happiness in the matter of shared confidences suggests that this aspect of happy marriage is more significant than the .53 correlation found by Burgess and Cottrell would indicate.

Dissatisfaction with the marriage and with the spouse was considered to be the weakest section of the original Questionnaire. It has become one of the strongest sections of the Revised Questionnaire. Canadian findings support the inclusion of a section on dissatisfaction with the marriage.

The original Questionnaire gave a score of 10 for the mutual settlement of disagreements as against a score of 1 for any other arrangement. This discrimination has been greatly reduced in the Revised Questionnaire. Such a procedure seems justified, but Canadian findings indicate that the mutual settlement of difficulties is highly correlated with happy marriage.

#### GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Canadian findings support the belief that the Burgess and Cottrell Questionnaire is a valid instrument for the sorting of families into adjustment groupings.

They also support a conclusion that the Revised Burgess, Cottrell, Wallin Questionnaire is an improved instrument for this purpose.

They indicate that the adjustment score is equally valid with the background score and the personality score as a basis for prediction.

# AN APPRAISAL OF SOME METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF SEXUAL BEHAVIOR IN THE HUMAN MALE

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## I. INTRODUCTION

This paper presents an appraisal of a few selected aspects of the methodology of the recently published Kinsey Report.<sup>1</sup>

The research is of great importance as an empirical quantitative investigation in one of the most significant areas of human experience, the study of which until now has been largely confined to clinicians dealing with small, highly selected segments of the population. From the volume<sup>2</sup> under review, which presents findings on the sexual histories of 5,300 white males, it is clear that Kinsey and his associates have collected a far richer series of quantitative data than has been secured in any previous research.

If this evaluation of their work emphasizes its shortcomings, in fairness to Kinsey and his collaborators it should be said they are shortcomings primarily by the high standards in terms of which they assess preceding investigations and find most of them deficient. It is important that these standards be stressed, but it is likewise important that investigators not overestimate the degree to which they have succeeded in conforming to them. The latter is the outstanding failing of the Report. Because of it the major findings are presented as established facts and generalizations rather than as tentative, provisional findings, which at best they are. I believe this judgment is borne out by an analysis of (a) the sample on which the Report is based and (b) the validity of the data. The necessary brevity of this paper limits the analysis which follows to only a few aspects of these critical phases of the Report.

## II. THE SAMPLE

Few, if any, researches depending on volunteer subjects have defined the scope of the universe to which their generalizations were to apply as ambitiously as the Kinsey project. In their summary of published studies on sex, the authors of the Report classify the findings of half of them as inapplicable beyond their obtained samples of subjects, and the findings of the others as valid at the most for one or two subgroups of the country's population. It is almost startling, then, to note that they believe their own findings

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<sup>1</sup> Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy, and Clyde E. Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1948).

<sup>2</sup> From this point on it will be referred to as the Report.



can be extended to the "163 groups on which data are given" (p. 29). That this assertion is intended to be literally interpreted is attested by the fact that Chapter 23 presents statistical norms of various types of sexual behavior for each of the groups.

The groups in question are those resulting from the successive breakdown of a sample of 5,300 American and Canadian white males by education, marital status, urban-rural residence, religious affiliation, religious activity, and, finally, age periods. The reader may well marvel at a sample of only 5,300 subjects which embraces 163 different population classes. In part, this was made possible by the use of histories obtained from older persons to provide data for all their preceding five-year age periods, the same subjects thereby serving as cases in a number of different age classes. Even though exception can be taken to this procedure of multiplying cases, the sampling of the Kinsey investigation would be notable if it had actually resulted in a selection of subjects which permitted generalization of findings for 163 groups. To have accomplished this would have required securing subjects representative of these many and varied universes, but the Report fails to demonstrate that this was done for even a small proportion of the groups about whose sexual behavior the authors allow themselves to generalize.

The most crucial single issue in the sampling of the Kinsey research is the representativeness of the subjects. Because the Report generalizes about a large number of varied groups, the question is whether the total sample is composed of subsamples of subjects representative of these groups. Securing a representative sample is not a simple matter under the most favorable of circumstances. The difficulties are considerably multiplied when the investigation is dependent on volunteer subjects and the sample is intended to represent a series of universes. The difficulties are again increased when participation of the subjects in the research requires that they be interviewed for an hour and a half or two hours on a phase of their lives which their culture conditions them to regard as nobody's business but their own. These were some of the problems Kinsey and his associates had to cope with in securing their sample, and evidence that they have succeeded is lacking.

The Report offers no estimate of the number of persons whose participation in the survey was unsuccessfully solicited. That the number of non-volunteers was considerable is indicated by the fact that "Perhaps 50,000 persons have heard about the research through lectures, and perhaps half of the histories now in hand have come in consequence of such contacts" (p. 38). The authors' comment on another study is here applicable to their

own. They say it is "... open to the very severe criticism that it involved only a highly selected sample of the total population. What is more serious, one is left guessing as to the histories of the 51 per cent that failed to answer the questionnaire" (p. 619).

The Report reveals a number of probable sources of sampling bias. First, an unspecified proportion of the subjects volunteered their histories because of "... the opportunity to obtain information about some item affecting their personal lives, their marriages, their families, friends, or social relations" (p. 37). The Report states that "In a number of communities, public knowledge of this source of help has brought many histories" (p. 37). But the authors were not disturbed by this selection. To quote, "This does not mean that an undue number of neurotic or psychotic individuals has contributed. On the contrary, items of the sort listed above are the everyday sexual problems of the average individual; and the greatly disturbed type of person who goes to psychiatric clinics has been relatively rare in our sample" (p. 37). Even if the infrequency of the "greatly disturbed type of person" in the sample is granted, the research doubtless attracted subjects having sexual problems of one kind or another. The authors beg the question in characterizing the problems of their subjects as those of the average individual, for their conception of the sex life of the average individual is necessarily derived from that of persons selected by their research.

A second potential source of bias was the monetary payment given some of the subjects. The Report does not indicate the number of persons financially remunerated for their histories but states that payment was largely limited to the poorer elements in the population. The authors may be correct in their judgment that "... such payments have [not] distorted the quality of the record . . ." (p. 41), but they overlook the possibility that even the promise of a small financial return may have drawn a class of subjects not typical of the lower-income group.

Evaluation of the representativeness of the sample on which the Report is based is made excessively difficult by the omission of a direct statement as to the source, size, and composition of its many constituent subgroups. This omission is particularly serious with respect to the age distribution of the various subgroups.

Representativeness is probably more closely approximated by the college segment of the sample than by the subjects of grammar- and high-school level. The greater accessibility of college males as research subjects increases the possibility of a diversified selection. Moreover, they constitute a smaller universe for sampling purposes than do persons of lower educational levels.

And since the former make up more than half the sample, it may be that they are approximately representative of college-level males in the north-eastern section of the country. The representativeness of the grammar- and high-school subjects, however, is much more open to question. Although the Report offers no data on this important issue, there is some evidence which argues for the presumption that the sample of the lower educational levels is biased by the disproportionate representation of certain groups. For example, many hundreds of histories were contributed by men confined to penal institutions<sup>3</sup> (p. 210). Several hundred male prostitutes served as subjects (p. 216). Moreover, histories were secured from an unspecified number of feeble-minded persons. These are groups in which there is undoubtedly a concentration of individuals at lower educational levels. No sample of lower-level subjects could be representative of the universe of lower-level males when made up in substantial part of such deviants.

The question of representativeness likewise arises in regard to subgroupings of the total sample by age, religion, marital status, occupation, and rural-urban status. Here, again, no evidence is presented other than the intention of the authors expressed in their assertion that "The first principle to observe in securing histories is that of diversifying each collection which enters into the sample" (p. 93). Unfortunately, the Report presents insufficient information for judging the extent to which the investigators were able to adhere to this principle.

### III. VALIDITY OF THE DATA

The validity of the data must be appraised with special caution for two reasons. First, many of them bear on experiences that persons in our society are generally reluctant to recount to others. Second, many of the data relate to past events in the subjects' histories. A large proportion of the data for the older males consisted of recollections of their sexual behavior of twenty to thirty years ago and could consequently be subject to considerable error. Evidence of accuracy of recall material is, therefore, of vital importance for establishing the validity of many of the data.

The principal types of data sought in the survey were the incidence and frequency in the various subgroups of orgasms achieved by masturbation, nocturnal emissions, petting, heterosexual intercourse (premarital, marital, postmarital, extramarital), contacts with prostitutes, homosexual

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<sup>3</sup>The authors indicate that the experience of these men while in prison was not used in the calculations of rates of various types of sexual practices. Their extra-prison experiences, however, do figure in many of the reported statistics.

contacts, and contacts with animals. "Incidence" refers to whether or not *orgasm* was *ever* achieved in any of these sources of sexual outlet. "Frequency" refers to the average frequency per week per five-year period that orgasm was experienced in each of the outlets. Subjects were asked for the frequency information for the period prior to adolescence and for the years from adolescence to the present.

Incidence, frequency, and other types of data were secured in interviews of one and a half to two hours duration. The Report, though listing the items covered in the interview, does not present the specific questions used or definitions of the items.

The authors lay great stress on the superiority of the interview to the questionnaire in sex studies. They assert that "The most serious error in past studies has been the wide use of questionnaires" (p. 31). No empirical evidence is cited in support of their position. Adduced in favor of the interview method is the fact that a greater number of persons in their investigation than in any questionnaire study have admitted involvement in socially taboo types of sexual activity. The authors overlook the alternative explanation of a bias in their sample.

One aspect of the interview technique which seems of dubious value is "Looking an individual squarely in the eye, and firing questions at him with maximum speed. . . ." (p. 54). The method is characterized as ". . . one of the most effective checks on fabrication, as detectives and other law enforcement officials well know" (p. 54).

Though "firing questions" at subjects with maximum speed may elicit rapid replies, one cannot help wondering how subjects (especially those in the older-age groups) could respond meaningfully to such questioning when asked, as they presumably were, to estimate average frequencies of the various sexual outlets for five- or one-year periods of twenty or thirty years past. One might well be suspicious of responses forthcoming without considerable deliberation. Moreover, the detective-like cross-examination is incompatible in method and spirit with the informal, friendly, unstandardized character of the interview as described in a preceding section: "The subject should be treated as a friend or a guest in one's own home" (p. 48).

The authors report some tests of the validity of their data. The first is a test of the constancy of memory rather than of its accuracy. The test involved re-takes of whole histories from 108 males and 54 females. The comparisons of the original and re-take histories are made with the responses of men and women combined. The test is, therefore, useless for evaluating

data for male subjects unless it be assumed that memory constancy of male and female is identical, a question not even raised by the authors.

Another test of the validity of the data involved a comparison of responses of a series of 231 husbands and wives from the same marriages. The correspondence between replies of spouses is reported for thirty-two items, a very small proportion of the total number of items secured even in the shorter histories. Only four of the thirty-two items involve frequency reports and these necessarily relate to marital coitus. Similarly, none pertain to incidence of sexual outlets. Nonetheless, in speaking of the correspondence between responses of spouses on the thirty-two items, the authors say, "The coefficients of correlation and the percentages of identical replies are low *only* [italics mine] in regard to the frequencies of marital coitus, and in regard to the percentage of the time in which the female reaches orgasm during the marital coitus" (p. 127). But these were the only frequency items tested, and the average correlation between spouse replies on them was .60. Because frequency and incidence data constitute the bulk of the Report, the authors are hardly warranted in concluding that "For most items of the sort covered in this study, it may be expected that something between 80 and 99 per cent of the subjects will give replies that will be verified, independently, by the partners in their marriages" (p. 128).

As a test of memory of recent as compared with remote events, the authors refer to the similarity of data secured from members of the older and younger generations. The younger generation is reporting more immediate experience, whereas the older generation is recalling early experience, which is much more remote. The fallacy of this test should be obvious. The comparison of the older and younger generations is valid only if it be assumed that immediate and remote recall are equally valid. But findings contingent on this assumption cannot in turn serve as evidence thereof. A number of significant differences, however, are revealed in the comparison of the sexual practices of the younger and the older generations (see Table 93, p. 368, and Tables 104 and 105, pp. 410, 412).

## SOME ASPECTS OF A GENERAL THEORY OF SOCIOPATHIC BEHAVIOR

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This is neither the time nor the place to undertake a comprehensive survey of all the theories of sociopathic behavior in the light of their philosophical or logical integrity. Let it suffice to say that the most important requirements of any social theory are that it delimit the field of study and detail the process of effective causation. It occurred to the writer that the delimitation of the field by social pathologists might be studied in something like operational terms by ascertaining what subject matter is actually discussed as pathological phenomena in substantive chapters of textbooks and treatises on the subject. One simple way of doing this was to compute the total number of pathological persons in our society at some given year on the basis of estimates of various pathological populations supplied in general textbooks and special treatments on social pathology.

The procedure which was ultimately settled upon was to select ten of the most widely adopted textbooks in the field of social maladjustments, as determined by university and college class adoption figures, furnished by courtesy of the publishers of the books. From these a list of categories of social pathology was prepared in which the "problem" was measured by population estimates. For a few of the categories it was necessary to supplement the textbook estimates from other, usually monographic, sources. One or two estimates had to be made by the writer. Because the estimates were given for different years, the base was taken as of 1935, tedious interpolations which would be necessary to achieve a high degree of accuracy not being undertaken. The final total estimate was thus unavoidably crude. Altogether, there were thirty-three categories of social pathology which were sufficiently well defined to occur in two or more of the textbooks and which were conceived as discrete populations. Even from such a cursory canvass, it was apparent that the number of categories of pathology to be found is a function of the diligence of the person doing the searching, and that, without much additional effort, the total categories could easily have been increased to forty or even fifty.

The grand total of all the estimates of populations in the sociopathic categories amounted to 104,020,324 out of a population of 127,250,232 in 1935. This means that approximately ten persons out of every twelve or thirteen were counted as sociopathic deviants during the period covered by

the estimates. Though it might be said that some of the inclusions were not justified and that some estimates of the numbers of sociopathic persons in the population were exaggerated, exactly the opposite might be shown. For example, the estimates for several chronic diseases were omitted; there were no figures for ex-convicts, for persons on probation, for criminals in jails, and for dependent children in institutions and foster homes. If the lead of some writers had been followed and such groups as white-collar criminals, the obese and the ugly, pathological eaters, and those who engage in non-marital sex relations had been included, it is plain that the number of pathological persons would not only have been equal to, but would have surpassed by many millions the actual numbers in our population in 1935.

There are, of course, certain explanations which immediately suggest that this fantastically large number of pathological persons in the population is more nominal than real. Obviously, there is overlapping in the figures, so that some persons were being counted twice, thrice, or many times. Yet, even if allowance is made for overlapping, by reducing the total to, say, sixty millions or even forty millions, a situation still exists wherein one person out of every three or four must be regarded as sociopathic. Instead of looking upon these statistical data as a dismal commentary upon the true state of the American population, however, one should regard them as the awkward and embarrassing consequences of the failure of social pathologists to delimit their field and to contrive meaningful and sociologically descriptive categories of pathology. They clearly point to the absence of any usable distinction between normal and abnormal human behavior, to the confusion of sociological with biological fields and other fields, and to an unconcern with the problem of priority and mutual exclusiveness in classifications where pathologies overlap in the same persons and groups.

In deviant behavior not complicated by biological disease or defect, it is questionable whether significant aspects of behavior have been employed as a basis for delimiting and classifying pathological social phenomena. This is especially true of such deviants as criminals, juvenile delinquents, prostitutes, gamblers, homosexuals, and migratory persons. Despite the theoretical pretense which some writers in this field have made of distinguishing social disorganization and personal disorganization, it is seldom clear whether they have in mind pathological behavior, pathological situations, or pathological persons in their discussions.

We may pertinently ask at this juncture whether the time has not come to break abruptly with the traditions of older social pathologists and abandon once and for all the archaic and medicinal idea that human beings can

be divided into normal and pathological, or, at least, if such a division must be made, to divest the term "pathological" of its moralistic, unscientific overtones. As a step in this direction, the writer suggests that the concepts of social differentiation and individuation be rescued from the limbo of the older textbooks on sociology, dusted off and given scientific airing, perhaps being supplemented and given statistical meaning with the perfectly usable concept of deviation. There seems to be no cogent reason why the bulk of the data discussed in textbooks and courses on social pathology cannot be treated as a special phase of social and cultural differentiation and individuation and thus conveniently integrated with general sociological theory as taught in courses in introductory sociology.

Because some method must be found to distinguish that portion of differentiation which can be designated appropriately as falling within the field of social pathology, the second necessary postulate is that there is a space-time limited societal awareness and reaction to deviation, ranging from strong approval through indifference to strong disapproval. Thus, by further definition, sociopathic phenomena simply become differentiated behavior which, at a given time and in a given place, is socially disapproved, though the same behavior may be socially approved at other times and at other places, and for our society as a whole there may be no consensus as to whether the behavior is desirable or undesirable. One writer has already shown how specific definitions may be worked out in this way through the use of a "tolerance quotient."<sup>1</sup>

In order to exploit the concept of differentiation profitably, some way of conceiving it in socio-cultural and personal contexts is necessary, inasmuch as the segments of deviant behavior in persons and groups cannot be treated alone. For example, it is clear even to the sociologically uninitiated that morphine addiction in a physically well person has a meaning quite apart from morphine addiction in a terminal cancer patient, both with respect to the societal reaction and the individual symbolic reaction. This suggests that many of the things taken as "value conflicts" in our culture in reality are space, time, and function qualifications of social norms, which are often necessary phases of societal integration. Furthermore, it guards us against being unduly exercised about culture conflicts or value conflicts which are not effectively expressed in social organization. As Linton<sup>2</sup> has

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<sup>1</sup> C. Van Vechten, "The Tolerance Quotient as a Device for Defining Certain Social Concepts," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVI (1940), 35-39; E. Lemert, "Legal Commitment and Social Control," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXX (1946), 370-78.

<sup>2</sup> R. Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York, 1936), p. 362.



shown, most value conflicts go in one synapse and out the other when they do not affect role and status of persons and groups.

Some socially disapproved differentiation of the behavioral sort is almost purely symptomatic and expressive of deep-lying, intra-psychic conflicts in individuals. The differentiae in these cases are polymorphous, capricious, and related to social and cultural factors in such complex symbolic ways as to defy cross-sectional analysis, at least at this stage of our development in sociology. In other instances sociopathic behavior as we have defined it seems to be largely a manifestation of social situations, by which we mean that pressures or stimuli external to the person are relatively more dynamic factors than internal ones, with the result that space and time become important factors. The great bulk of situational sociopathic behavior, if the concept is permissible, probably springs from situations involving culture conflict. Sociologists are far better equipped to analyze situational behavior, particularly as culture conflicts, than they are to make sense out of psychotic and neurotic behavior.

Situational analysis falls short in accounting for the recurrence of sociopathic behavior outside the situation of which it is a function and its integrated expression and persistence in the behavior of some persons. For this reason it is necessary to postulate a third general class of behavior, namely, systematic role- and status-oriented deviation, or professional pathological behavior. This leads directly into analysis of behavior systems in ways comparable to that which has been done for some occupations and rather adequately for some types of crime. It is here, in the analysis of systematic pathological behavior, that the conventional sociological concepts in their present form can be employed to their fullest advantage.

However, both situational analysis and behavior system analysis, as now conceived, leave unanswered the perplexing question of the genesis of the differential reactions made by people to the same social and cultural stimuli. Consequently, many theories, even though they take cognizance of the situation and the factors associated with behavior systems, shed little light upon the details of the process of effective causation in social pathology. They fail especially to account for the growth or elaboration of symptomatic or situational deviation into systematic deviation. This has not been due to any lack of preoccupation with the problem on the part of sociologists. Generally, the concept of organic process and interaction, as first set forth by Cooley in connection with social and personal disorganization, remains the foundation for thinking upon this subject. Unfortunately, analysis still rests pretty much at the level of reiteration and large generalization where

Cooley put it down. There has been a poverty of subsidiary hypotheses derived from the "concept" and an almost complete absence of implementation of the idea in textbooks where it has been used as a frame of reference. Beyond the unsalutary effects of Cooley's philosophical predilections and stylistic idiosyncrasies, there has been a tendency of some of his followers to invoke the concept of interaction as a reified explanatory term, like instincts. For instance, Brown goes so far as to say, "Everything plays its role and gets its meaning in interaction, hence interaction becomes a chief concept in every explanation."<sup>3</sup> The position obviously is untenable in that it involves a contradiction of terms, quaintly enough, interactional determinism.

As a matter of fact, interaction is not a theory or explanation at all. It does little more than set down a condition of inquiry, telling us that dynamic analysis must supplement structural analysis, and is best understood as a necessary reaction to the reified metaphysical explanations of human behavior current among nineteenth-century writers. Further reason for rejecting interaction as a theory *per se* is that it results in a directionless inquiry ending in a morass of dog-in-the-mangerish variables, none of which have priority or provide a formula for prediction.

If the concept of process or interaction is to be at all usable, it must take form so that empirical referents for the concept can be found. It has to be translated into natural histories or life cycles or "limited possibilities" or, as in chemistry, "function of complex variables." Such concepts will have to be transmuted into sociological as opposed to philosophical, biological, or other levels of conceptualization. In general terms this has already been done with more than casual success in Mead's systematic analysis of the symbolic process, undertaken empirically through the study of language as behavior. Furthermore, a number of writers and teachers of introductory sociology carefully devote space and time to discussions of the self as it develops out of reflective language behavior. Yet, with the possible exception of L. G. Brown, none of the social pathologists have systematically applied the concepts of self, role, status, and social participation to processual analysis of pathologically deviant behavior.

The solution to the problem of differential reactions of individuals in relation to their sociopathic conduct patently lies in the study of the symbolic process. The developmental sequence in the symbolic process can be separated into at least two sharply polarized or even categorical phases on the basis of differential symbolic reactions made to the same deviant behavior. These may be termed *primary deviation* and *secondary deviation*.

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<sup>3</sup>L. G. Brown, *Social Pathology* (New York, 1942), p. 9.

Primary deviation can arise from a wide variety of "causes" and its value lies in the fact that it permits subsuming the wide and seemingly contradictory varieties of special theories of given sociopathic behavior under a more general class without the burdensome necessity of disproving or replacing these theories. Each theory may be a valid explanation for a certain family of cases when the primary deviation is the focus of interest. Thus, it can be freely admitted that persons come to drink alcoholic liquors excessively for many different reasons: death of loved ones, exposure to death in battle, the strain of business competition, family role ambivalence, inferiority feelings, nipple fixation, and many others. The symbolic concomitants which commonly distinguish deviation in its primary phase are the definitions of the behavior as adjuncts or accessories of socially acceptable roles. Such behavior may be troublesome to the individual and make heavy demands upon his capacities for self-acceptance and -enhancement, but the important point remains that the definitions do not produce symbolic reorganization at the level of general role conception. Pathological and normal behavior remain as strange, if somewhat tensional, bedfellows in the same person.

Secondary deviation may be said to exist when the person begins to employ his defiant behavior or a role based upon it as *a means of defense, attack, or adjustment to the overt and covert problems created by the societal reaction to it*. In effect, the original causes of the deviation recede in importance or give way to the central importance of the disapproval and isolating reactions of the community. A person who began to drink heavily because of anxieties over his professional competence now drinks heavily because of the failures due to his drinking and corresponding sense of guilt and introjected self-definitions.

There are a number of more or less substantiated special theories of pathology which collectively point to the operation of symbolic factors in producing the shift from primary to secondary deviation as they have been described here. Lindesmith's<sup>4</sup> theory, when pruned of its rationalistic preconceptions, says in essence for opiate addiction what has been said in general here. Blumel's<sup>5</sup> and Van Riper's<sup>6</sup> distinction between primary and secondary

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<sup>4</sup> A. Lindesmith, *Opiate Addiction* (Bloomington, Ind., 1947).

<sup>5</sup> C. S. Blumel, "Primary and Secondary Stuttering," *Proceedings of the American Speech Correction Association*, Vol. II (1932), pp. 91-102.

<sup>6</sup> C. Van Riper, "The Growth of the Stuttering Spasm," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XXIII (1937), 70-73.

symptoms of stuttering, Bacon's<sup>7</sup> processual analysis of alcoholism, Clinard's<sup>8</sup> and Porterfield's<sup>9</sup> stress upon role conception as the dynamic factor in delinquency, Slavson's<sup>10</sup> theory of childhood maladjustment in relation to parental rejection, Bain's<sup>11</sup> concept of vicious circles and vicious cycles in compulsive neurotic behavior, to some extent Adamczyk's<sup>12</sup> distinction between individuated behavior as opposed to spontaneous group behavior, Kingsley Davis's<sup>13</sup> analysis of the sociology of prostitution, and Dai's<sup>14</sup> along with Boisen's<sup>15</sup> conception of a symbolic determinant in mental disease—all more or less conceptualize for specific pathologies the process postulated as generally operating in the transition from primary to secondary deviation.

In order to avoid the fallacy of reductionism, and in order to keep analysis at a sociological as well as a sociopsychological level, it will be necessary to relate the symbolic process to an objectively described societal reaction. This involves a study of social situations and society's control and welfare agencies from the standpoint of their average symbolic impact, their self-defining, invidious, and discriminating effects upon the deviant person. Obviously, this area of sociological research is almost completely untouched, although its importance is becoming increasingly appreciated.

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<sup>7</sup> S. Bacon, "Alcoholism: Nature of the Problem," mimeographed abstract of address to Institute on Alcoholism, University of California at Los Angeles, 1947.

<sup>8</sup> M. Clinard, "The Process of Urbanization and Criminal Behavior," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVIII (1942), 203-13.

<sup>9</sup> A. Porterfield, "Delinquency and Its Outcome in Court and College," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIX (1943), 199-208.

<sup>10</sup> S. Slavson, *An Introduction to Group Psychotherapy* (New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1943), p. 7.

<sup>11</sup> R. Bain, "Personality Development and Marriage," in C. Becker and R. Hill, *Marriage and the Family* (Boston, 1942), pp. 147 ff.

<sup>12</sup> J. Adamczyk, *The Relation of Problem Solving Behavior to the Structuralization of Social Groups*, Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1942.

<sup>13</sup> K. Davis, "The Sociology of Prostitution," *American Sociological Review*, II (1937), 744-55.

<sup>14</sup> B. Dai, "Personality Problems in Chinese Culture," *American Sociological Review*, VI (1941), 688-96.

<sup>15</sup> A. Boisen, *The Exploration of the Inner World* (Chicago: Willett Clark and Company, 1936).

## PREDICTION OF MARITAL ADJUSTMENT OF DIVORCED PERSONS IN SUBSEQUENT MARRIAGES

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The present paper is a report of an exploratory study of the problem: do divorced persons constitute good or bad risks in subsequent marriages? An answer to this question was attempted by comparing the marital adjustment scores of a group of forty-seven divorced persons who were *married to new mates* with scores of a group of sixty-four persons *married only once*.

The cases were obtained from the Los Angeles metropolitan area through members of sociology courses, who distributed questionnaires to persons of their acquaintance who were married but who had had previous marriages which had been terminated by divorce and also to persons who had remained married to their first mates.

The hypothesis was that there is no difference in the degree of marital adjustment of divorced persons in subsequent marriages and persons married only once.

The social characteristics of the divorced-remarried and the married-once-only groups were fairly comparable in religious faith, educational attainment, level of yearly incomes, sex distribution, and nationality. Both the divorced-remarried and the married-once-only groups were predominantly Protestant, 60 and 61 per cent, respectively, whereas 14.9 per cent and 11.0 per cent were Catholic. Four per cent of the divorced-remarried group and 6 per cent of the married-once-only group were Jewish, and about one-fifth of each group claimed to have no church affiliation. The median for years of education of the divorced-remarried group was 13.4, and the median for the married-once-only sample was 14.3 years. A yearly family income of less than \$3,000 was obtained by 48.7 per cent of the remarried group and by 54.8 per cent of the married-once-only persons. The sex distribution was fairly equal, as males constituted 44.7 per cent and 48.4 per cent, respectively, of the two groups. About 61.7 per cent of the divorced-remarried group and 70.3 per cent of the married-once-only group were American-born of American-born parents, and about one in 25 and one in 10, respectively, were of foreign birth.

Adjustment scores, on which the analysis was based, were secured by

the employment of the Burgess-Cottrell marital adjustment scale.<sup>1</sup> Three types of comparisons were made: (1) the men and women combined of the divorced-remarried group with the men and women combined of the married-once-only group; (2) the divorced-remarried women with the women married only once and a like comparison of the men; and (3) the men of each group with the women of the same group.

The first comparison indicated that those in the divorced-remarried group achieved as high a degree of adjustment in their present marriages as the persons married only once. The respective mean scores were 149 and 151. The distribution of the scores of the two groups in terms of "good," "fair," and "poor" adjustment also were not significantly different. The divorced-remarried and the married-once-only groups showed 44.7 per cent and 50.0 per cent, respectively, in the "good" adjustment category, 38.3 and 39.1 per cent in the "fair," and 17.0 and 10.9 per cent in the "poor" adjustment category.

The second comparison was by sex. When the scores of divorced-remarried and married-once-only women were compared, the mean scores of 157 and 151, respectively, did not differ significantly.<sup>2</sup>

Thus far the data verified the original hypothesis. For men, however, the verification did not hold, in that men who had been divorced and had remarried did not achieve as high a degree of adjustment in their subsequent marriages as did the men who continued in their first marriages. The mean adjustment score of those men who had had prior marriages terminated by divorce was 138 as compared with 159 for those who had been married only once. The difference of 21 points in the means is probably significant, as the critical ratio of 2.33 indicates that the difference in the degree of adjustment is probably a real one and not due to chance. No statistical significance was found between the two groups of men in any one of the three categories—"good," "fair," and "poor"—but when "fair" and "poor" were combined, the critical ratio of the difference between the percentage of divorced-remarried and married-once-only men was 2.18, so that the difference was probably a real one.

The third comparison showed that the adjustment scores of the married-once-only husbands did not differ significantly from the scores of the married-once-only wives, the respective means being 159 and 151.<sup>3</sup> However,

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<sup>1</sup> E. W. Burgess and L. S. Cottrell, *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage* (New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1939), pp. 64-65.

<sup>2</sup> CR was .76.

<sup>3</sup> CR was 1.26.

there was a 19-point difference between the means of the divorced-remarried husbands and the divorced-remarried wives, the respective means being 138 and 157, with a critical ratio of 1.88. Though this is not significant on the five-per-cent level, the failure to get a statistically significant difference may be due to the smallness of the sample. The critical ratio is large enough to support the tentative conclusion that divorced men and divorced women differ in their adjustment in subsequent marriages.

On the basis of these three comparisons a new hypothesis has been developed, namely, divorced-remarried women are as good risks in their subsequent marriages as women who marry only once, whereas divorced-remarried men are not as good risks as those men who marry only once. This modification of the original hypothesis is being subjected to possible verification or refutation by research now in process.

## PROBLEMS IN PUBLIC OPINION POLLING

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Short cuts to the determination of public opinion have been in existence from time immemorial, and today we can observe many old methods employed to sound out and describe the opinion of the so-called masses or defined groups. The statements of "leaders," "representative individuals," party henchmen, ward-heelers, writers, travelers, and even *vox pop* utterances of the "man in the street" have been used to describe and even measure large blocks of public attitudes. The failures of such methods to produce valid and reliable indices of public opinion, particularly in the increasingly large and heterogeneous populations of today, led to the development of newer techniques.

It is the purpose of this paper to point out some of the problems still facing polling and at least to outline some of the unexplored hypotheses upon which that technique rests. The problems and unexplored concepts of polling to be discussed are: (1) definition of the concept "opinion," (2) sampling, (3) construction of questions, (4) coding, (5) the social process of polling, (6) interviewing and interviewers, (7) analysis, (8) presentation of results, and (9) use of results.

Leonard W. Doob in his new book on *Public Opinion and Propaganda* states, "Public Opinion refers to people's attitudes on an issue when they are members of the same social group." He has previously defined an attitude as "an internal response which the individual has learned as a result of past rewards and punishments," which "when they are aroused, they predispose the individual to make certain overt responses." These concepts are the usual ones and are useful in setting a schematic reference but fail to produce an objective measurable or describable unit.<sup>1</sup>

This is one of the unexplored hypotheses upon which polling rests. If we except the very loose concept of "predisposition to react" as an attitude, we are thereby taking upon ourselves the necessity to examine all factors in the *gestalt*. The physiological, the subconscious, the subliminal, the esoterically individual factors, and the "social (!)" factors must be considered if we are to describe the attitude accurately.

One of the major problems in polling is that we are getting at only one factor in the attitude, and there may be serious question as to whether it is a factor. Actually, all that is done in polling is to record verbal re-

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<sup>1</sup> (New York, 1948), pp. 35, 27, 28.



sponses to verbal stimuli. Granted there is logically a relation between verbal expressions and the rest of whatever makes up the attitude, the nature, degree, and variant factors in this relationship are still unknown at least in a measurable and verifiable manner.

Turning from the problem of the basic unit in polling, we run headlong into the multitudinous problems of whom we are to poll. All polling research is done on a sampling basis. Mathematically, sampling is fairly simple; one merely chooses a small number but gives the entire universe equal chances to be included in that small group. However, the jump from theory to practice in population sampling is so great that perhaps some of us have landed in the middle abyss of utter confusion instead of reaching the other side.

In the first place, the theories of sampling originated with the handling of finite, discrete objects, which could be adequately defined and possessed relatively stable internal and external characteristics. The rules of sampling could, with some questionable manipulations, be used in population sampling when the purpose is merely to count bodies. However, when we move into the area of opinion, we have used several major assumptions which may or may not be true. First, are opinions or attitudes discrete, finite items? Are they continuous factors? Can they be adequately defined? Do they possess relative stability in expression or in subjective elements? This problem increases in importance when we leave opinion polling directed at dichotomous choices and attempt to sample infinite choices.

But assuming for the moment that we can apply these sampling techniques to polling, we immediately run into other problems. One of the rules we use is that we must have stratified, random sampling—that is, that each group or class must be represented. But this principle is based on the old concept of stereotyping, which is a much-used but little-verified idea. What is the process of stereotyping? What are major and which are minor factors in the process?

For example, let me point out the difficulties the Washington Public Opinion Laboratory has faced in drawing its sample. The state was first divided into five regions based upon the analysis of N. H. Engle in his *Manpower and Purchasing Power in Washington*.<sup>2</sup> In essence this is a division of the state solely on an economic basis designed for a specific purpose, but it is the best regionalistic division to be found at present. The second breakdown was that of communities on the U. S. Census grouping of five

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<sup>2</sup> Mimeographed, University of Washington, 1943.

urban classifications and four rural classifications. This gave us a matrix of forty-five cells for classification of the areas within the state.

But any such classification is based in essence upon the concept of stereotyping—that is, that the locale influences the individual's opinion. And we frankly do not know the relationship of Engle's five areas to other than economic data, and no one, so far as the writer knows, has ever shown more than a vague relationship of the census population classification to stereotyping or other forms of social behavior. If the problem is viewed from another direction, it can be said that what we need to solve this problem of true representativeness is a culture-area atlas of the state.

But even after assuming some basis for the above matrix classification and after determining the proper number of the sample to be drawn from each cell, we are still faced with a major problem in drawing our sample. There are various types of sampling, but for the purpose of this paper we can divide them into two categories: quota sampling and area sampling. Quota sampling is the older of the two systems and consists of selecting certain factors in the population which are to be represented in correct proportion and on that basis assigning certain types of individuals to be interviewed by the field workers. The field worker then contacts a number of people until the correct individual is reached. Area sampling is a newer technique and involves assigning certain areas to the interviewer and requiring that every  $n$ th individual be interviewed. In practice the area to be sampled is divided into areas comparable to city blocks, these areas are numbered, and the blocks to be used drawn randomly. The interviewer is then told to start at a certain point and move around the block to interview someone at every  $n$ th dwelling. In domal sampling the dwellings have been previously listed and the exact household drawn. The interviewer is then given a specific address at which to conduct the interview.

As is obvious, area sampling is much more expensive than quota sampling and is so new that there has not been enough time to test its efficiency in relation to quota sampling. To be sure, Joseph Hochstrim and Dilman Smith have reported an experiment in which it is shown that area sampling more closely approximates known distributions of data, but the differences in relation in all but three items could be insignificant differences.<sup>3</sup> And the U. S. Census in *A Chapter on Population Sampling* demonstrates a greater efficiency within its criteria for area sampling,<sup>4</sup> but in general its goal is a

<sup>3</sup> "Area Sampling or Quota Sampling?—Three Sampling Experiments," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XII (1948), 73-80.

<sup>4</sup> By the Sampling Staff, Bureau of the Census (U. S. Government Printing Office, n.d.).

count of bodies or things.

The big advantage of area sampling is in the control which it places on the interview. In the sample designed by the Washington Public Opinion Laboratory, the interviewer has practically no discretion in picking the person to be interviewed. And this is an admitted advantage. Many studies have shown that there is a measurable difference between those who co-operate at first request to be interviewed and those who do not co-operate. There is also a difference between those at home at the first call and those found on the second call back, and even between those interviewed on the second call back and those interviewed on the third call back. Obviously, we cannot measure the differences between those who co-operate and those who never co-operate except as to general type of individual, and likewise we cannot measure the answers of those who are never interviewed. The problem for polling agencies at present is whether the increased cost and time in setting up and continuing an area sample results in greater efficiency and predictiveness in the results.

Another problem in connection with area sampling, at present unsolved, is what the continuous random selection on sub-levels does to the probability estimates in connection with the selection of one individual. This matter will have to be solved by the statisticians.

The next major problem—that of constructing the verbal stimuli, or questions—opens a large Pandora's box of sub-problems. It involves the whole area of semantics, and a search for answers to our problems shows how little we as sociologists have done or know about the sociology of language. In personal interviewing the semantic problem is increased by the addition of problems of phonetics and tonal symbolism.

Moreover, the problem of meanings is complicated with the problem of emotional symbolism associated with words. The old saying "Smile when you say that" is only too true in common usage of words. What is really needed is a sociological dictionary of the American language classified according to culture areas and arranged both as to meanings and emotional overtones. When we add to the difficulty by combining words into sentences, we are almost overwhelmed by the problem of interpretation. Just what does the sentence mean, and have all the various meanings and implications been considered?

A third problem in constructing the questions lies in what type of response is desired. By and large, the choice is of two types. The closed-end type—multiple choice, or yes or no type—has been commonly used. The

open-end type in which the interviewee's words or ideas are recorded is the other main type.

The closed-end type of question supposedly results in more concrete and easily codable and relatable answers. But the term "supposedly" is the stumbling block in the previous sentence. The fact that an interviewee picks a certain choice or answers yes to a question does not mean that that is a true answer to the question asked. The answers are obviously limited to those suggested. His answer is thus forced into specified channels.

The open-end question is being used more and more in polling, because it appears to be the only escape from the errors of closed-end questions or perhaps because it is an easy escape from such criticism. The first problem in the use of the open-end type is in the inability of the interviewer to record all of the respondent's answers. This would require a shorthand technique and a great deal of space on the polling format. In lieu of this, the interviewer records what he thinks were the respondent's answers, using key phrases and short sentences. Thus there is introduced the factor of interviewer interpretation, interviewer bias, and interviewer coding of answers.

But even assuming verbatim recording by the interviewer and full answers by the respondent, we must still face the real problem of the interpretation and coding of the answers. Briefly the problem may be stated as "What did the respondent mean?" and "How can the meaning be classified in order to compare it with answers of other respondents?" Often the open-end answers of respondents are undecipherable. Yet if the interviewers are given permission to rewrite or interpret the answers, we lose control and cannot tell which is verbatim and which is free interpretation. If we maintain control by forbidding the interviewer to interpret the question to the interviewee or to draw out the answer, we run into answers of such brevity as to be meaningless. When we come to coding the answers we run directly into the problems and errors of secondary interpretation and reclassification. The interpretation and coding of open-end answers is one of the largest problems in handling each specific poll.

The selection, training, and supervision of interviewers is from some points of view the key problem in polling, although from experience this writer would say the key problem is always that one which faces the administrator at any particular moment. At least, the interviewer errors are the ones over which we have least control and at the same time are almost impossible to predict or adjust statistically. Because the interviewers are not only recorders but also parties to an interpersonal relationship, it is important to know who they are and whether they have any group characteristics. The great

majority of interviewers are female, are extroverted, have at least a high school education, have spare time, and are able to use the small amount of money interviewing brings in.

Interviewing is certainly a social process, but one about which we know very little both from the point of view of the definitive characterization or from the specific point of view of interviewer bias and relationship to the respondent. What makes a good interviewing approach? Can one class of personalities get similar information from diverse classes of personalities? To what extent are the respondent's answers shaped by the stereotype she sees in the interviewer? Etc. The problems of defining a social process, measuring it, estimating the effects and residues are so well known to sociologists that there is no need to develop the problem any further here.

Supervision of interviewers is a serious concern with no real solution. Under quota sampling there is no simple way of checking on interviewing. And if re-interviews are used under area sampling, interviewer morale is weakened. Spot re-interviewing is generally used but is not satisfactory. What is called "interviewer cheating" is a constant headache to pollsters. The best procedure to date is a bulletin to interviewers constantly reiterating the standards of polling and pointing out the errors made or suspected in the previous poll.

The last two problems to be discussed here are really the obverse and reverse of one problem. Both interpretation and use of the data of the polls are a reflection of the director's point of view. Thus in making a report, one picks what seem important to him, and that choice itself requires selection. The possible combinations and permutations of data in some polls number in the thousands, but he reports only a few.

The effect of poll findings on subsequent public opinion is a much-debated point. Those who are hurt by the findings condemn it, whereas those favored call it the truth. The one big point to remember is that outside of polls relating to elections, which as was pointed out are dichotomous or limited choices, there has been little if any testing of the validity, reliability, or effect of polls. We frankly do not know. But we can guess as to its effects and point out the dangers. Poll findings fall into the categories of the most widely held lay rationalizations of the day: (1) "I saw it in print"; (2) "it seems like science"; (3) "it is in numbers"; (4) "it's psychological."

On these rationalizations, or less, much pseudo-science is accepted as science by laymen. Until some of the above problems are in part solved or the errors held constant, polling will continue to be pseudo-scientific.

# A FACTUAL STUDY OF CERTAIN WASHINGTON SCHOOL CHILDREN IN RELATION TO COMMERCIAL MOTION PICTURES

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In the years since the motion picture has become a vital factor in the recreational life of the child, much has been written about movies and their relation to the school child. Parents, ministers, social leaders, and teachers have frequently discussed the matter with what did not appear to be very satisfactory results. Such a large number of complaints have been registered with the various parent-teacher organizations of Washington that a study was inaugurated to try to bring out more factual information about the movies and the school child.

This study embraces 7,715 school children from the state of Washington. A questionnaire was developed in conjunction with a committee from the various P.T.A. organizations of the state of Washington. Certain questions were included because they represented what certain P.T.A. members, teachers, and representatives of the motion-picture industry wanted to know about the child and his relation to motion pictures. From a list of counties of the state of Washington, those counties were arbitrarily chosen which seemed to represent the following groups or sub-groups: (1) metropolitan areas, (2) small cities (10,000-50,000), (3) towns (2,500-10,000), (4) rural non-farm, (5) truck and fruit farm areas, (6) wheat farm areas, (7) mining, (8) dairying. The following counties were chosen: King, Spokane, Skagit, Clark, Yakima, Walla Walla, Adams, and Stevens. In the metropolitan areas two high schools were chosen by a random draw, and in each of the other counties every high school was chosen and one out of every five elementary schools. Questionnaires were given by the teachers in each of the schools under the supervision of the principal or superintendent. In the large high and junior high schools, a sample was taken by random draw from the various sections of the English classes. Out of 10,231 questionnaires sent to the schools, 8,437 were returned, 7,715 of which were conceded to be usable in this study. Exclusive of those eliminated, the net return was 82 per cent. Of those returned, 91.2 per cent were deemed usable. The sample was distributed from the fourth grade through the twelfth. It was thought that students below the fourth grade would be unable to answer the questions satisfactorily on a written questionnaire.

Occupational categories which are used by the Census Bureau were taken.

The study is an attempt to find factual information about persons of the selected categories who attend commercial motion pictures. How often does the average child attend the movies? Is there any relation between occupational status and movie attendance? What supervision of the choice of motion pictures is made by parents? Do the children simply attend the pictures because they are being shown, or is there discrimination as to type on the part of parents, or even by the children themselves? What types of movies do the respective age groups like? Why do they not like the ones which they do not like? Who are the favorite actors of children? (These last two questions will not be attempted in this paper, but they are an integral part of the larger study.

It has been maintained that our children "are movie made."<sup>1</sup> This study also attempts to determine if there are recreational activities which the school child prefers to the moving picture. It has also been said that the movies are one of the greatest sources of imitation for the American youth. Is this true? Do children try to act, dress, and talk like the actors whom they see in motion pictures? Do children learn valuable information from the movies? If so, what?<sup>2</sup> What types of moving pictures do school children want? The highest mean attendance at moving pictures of children occurs in that group whose employment falls in the management classification, according to the father's occupation, and the least attendance is by the children of agriculturalists, forestry workers, and fishermen. The latter is an expected result due, in part perhaps, to the greater isolation of this category of workers. This is not the only reason, however, as is shown in the attendance of females of the same group. This difference is of significance, inasmuch as the former group attends one and one-third times each week, whereas the latter attends only slightly more than twice per month. The sons of professional people attend considerably less than do the daughters. The sons of the foresters, agriculturists, and fishermen attend the moving pictures less than the sons of fathers in other occupations. Nevertheless, there is no appreciable difference in the attendance of the daughters of these groups from those of any of the other categories. Little difference is found in the percentage of boys and girls who attend frequently and those who seldom attend the moving pictures. In the former, 14 per cent of the girls and 18 per cent of the boys attend as much as twice each week, whereas in the latter category approximately 15 per cent of both sexes list themselves

<sup>1</sup> H. J. Forman, *Our Movie Made Children* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933).

<sup>2</sup> Perry Ward Haladay, *The Motion Picture as a Source of General Information* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933).

as seldom attending a movie—which means less than once each month. In other words, the attendance seems to follow roughly a normal curve, with about as many children attending the moving pictures three times each week as there are children who never attend. The average attendance for both boys and girls is about once in one and one-half weeks.

There are no marked differences in the motion-picture attendance of school children in the state of Washington by grades. Twelfth-graders attend the movies only every two weeks, whereas the most frequent attendance is by fifth-graders, who attend approximately once in eleven days. Apparently there is no particular age at which one grade or age of pupils above the third grade attends the movies less than another, except the twelfth grade. Such a drop in the twelfth-grade group may be due to additional social functions, such as dances, to which this age group might go. Again, the distribution of attendance from “frequently” to “never” approximates the normal curve.

Very few of the school children attending movies go alone. No appreciably greater number of older students go to the movies alone than younger ones. As would be expected, a larger number of the lower-grade pupils go with their parents than do the older students, though a surprisingly large number of the older ones, over 20 per cent, attend with their parents. The most popular type of attendance is with another boy or girl. For older students “dating” is probably important. This may be shown by the fact that only a little over 40 per cent of fifth- and sixth-graders attend with other boys or girls, whereas in the eleventh and twelfth grades almost 70 per cent fall into this category. In all grades a large number of children themselves choose the pictures which they wish to attend. The percentage of choice increases from 35 per cent in the fourth grade to 86 per cent in the twelfth grade. The percentage of increase over these grades is relatively constant. A sizable number choose “what’s on,” that is, 165 out of 1,528, or slightly over 10 per cent. This type of choice is made about equally by pupils of all grades. The age choice closely parallels the findings of choice by grade. The older the pupil, the more frequently the choice is made by the individual. Large numbers of children, however, make their own choices at ten and eleven years of age. It is surprising how few make their choices in co-operation with their parents, only about 12 per cent doing so. Whether this is a lack of parental interest and/or control or some other cause is not determined.

It has been maintained that children want to go to the motion pictures only as recreation. Nearly every child had, on an average, two things that he



had rather do than attend "shows" for recreation. By count, the most popular choice was to swim, with nearly half the students preferring this type of recreation to motion pictures. Hiking was second with dancing, picnicking, and ball-playing following in close order. Reading and games other than ball attracted only a nominal following, namely 3.5 per cent. Recreation directors and parents might take these choices into consideration in planning youth programs.

Over 55.5 per cent of those eight years of age approve of news reels, and this percentage gradually increases until 78 per cent of those eighteen years of age show a preference for news reels. There were no differences in boys and girls in this preference.

Do the pupils themselves believe they learn something of value from the pictures? Of 7,705 answers, 5,680 thought they learned something worth-while; and only 1,645 thought they learned nothing of permanent value. The older the child, the greater, he believes, the amount he learns. If such a large number of children think they learn worth-while information from moving pictures, attention should be given to the type of picture from which they believe they learn the most which is of value. There was no difference in the replies of males and females relative to what they learned.

Do children imitate the actors in movies? Of 7,705 answers, 5,080 stated that they did not imitate the actors. The tendency to imitation was much stronger in the early years than in the later teen-ages. Only 6 per cent of those seventeen years of age admitted to direct imitation, whereas 41 per cent of those aged ten answered the question in the affirmative. The sharp drop in imitation occurs at twelve years of age and steadily decreases during the remainder of the school life, until the nineteen-year-olds deny any imitation of actors. This would indicate that movies generally affect greatly the imitative behavior of those under twelve, and, consequently, particular care should be exercised in the choosing of pictures which this group attends.

Are children frightened by what they see in moving pictures? A large number of persons of each age category from eight to eighteen state that they are frightened by what they see. Of the nine-year-olds, 50 per cent answer in the affirmative. Of the total, 39.9 per cent say that they are frightened by what they see. Further study will be made to show how often and by what types of pictures they are frightened. This paper does not include the category "what frightens them," but such a question is covered by the questionnaire, and by way of general summary it may be said that those scenes which frighten occur with alarming regularity.

In summary, and by way of comparison with other studies, the findings show that children actually attend the movies less than during the period covered by Charters' study.<sup>3</sup> He found that the average child attended once each seven days, whereas the average for this study was once in eleven days. This may be significant when we consider the generally higher economic level of the students covered in this study in comparison with those covered in Charters' study. It should be kept in mind that prices of admission today are, however, considerably higher than when his study was made.

No check in this study was made to determine the detrimental effects on the sleep of the child, as in Charters' study, but both studies showed that approximately equal percentages were emotionally upset by what they saw, the present study showing a larger percentage of older students frightened and a slightly smaller number of younger students than did the Payne Fund studies. How harmful these emotional experiences are is not measured objectively, but numerous comments on the questionnaire indicate they are short-lived and are not considered serious by the student, though admittedly he may be a very poor judge. The study is generally in agreement with the conclusions of Dr. Mortimore Adler, rather than those of H. J. Foreman and the Payne Fund authors,<sup>4</sup> who say, "The data indicate for the most part that these emotional experiences are extremely short-lived. Even when they are not transient, the data do not show whether they are harmful or beneficial."

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<sup>3</sup>W. W. Charters, The Payne Fund Committee on Educational Research in Motion Pictures, from Cline M. Koor, *Motion Pictures in Education in the U. S.* (University of Chicago Press, 1934).

<sup>4</sup>Raymond Moley, *Are We Movie Made?* (New York: Macy-Masins, 1938), p. 53; Foreman, *op. cit.*

# NEW PATTERNS IN OLD MEXICO: DIFFERENTIAL CHANGES IN THE SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS OF VILLAGE, TOWN, AND METROPOLIS

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In July, 1948, it is proposed to begin a twelve-month field study to test the following hypothesis: Mexican social institutions are changing and are changing differentially. Six months of preliminary field work in the summers of 1941, 1943, and 1945<sup>1</sup> indicate that this hypothesis can be tested by comparing selected aspects of the social institutions of hinterland villages, Oaxaca, and Mexico City. It is assumed that the data for these communities will tend to form social gradients. The data from the villages will usually show the least change; that from Oaxaca, more; Mexico City, the most. For example, the 1940 census reported that 36.5 per cent of the inhabitants of Tepoztlán, Morelos, slept on the ground (usually on a mat or *petate*), 19.9 per cent in Oaxaca, 5.8 per cent in Mexico City.

Hinterland villages—even those located near Mexico City like Tepoztlán—show great resistance to change. Three hundred twenty miles from the metropolis on a southeasterly extension of the great central plateau, the isolated, provincial, Spanish-Indian town of Oaxaca also clings to much that is old. Its privileged families still live closer to the central plaza than do its underprivileged. Almost every house is patio-centered.<sup>2</sup> Mexico City, about fifty times as large as Oaxaca, has shifted in recent years toward a basic configuration similar to that of large cities in the United States.<sup>3</sup> It is the center of the political, business, and intellectual life of Mexico. New patterns, such as sleeping in a bed, are likely to be introduced first in the capital and to spread from there to the smaller communities.

Preliminary observations also indicate that the rate of institutional change varies in different social classes. The large lower class seems to show the least change; the upper class more; the middle class most. In Mexico City the processes of competition and the segregation of population have continued over a long-enough period that certain areas may be designated as underprivileged (lower class) and other areas as privileged (upper and

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<sup>1</sup> The writer is indebted to the Social Science Research Council and the University of Washington for grants-in-aid for the 1945 field work and for recent additional grants-in-aid for the 1948-49 project.

<sup>2</sup> A paper, "Differential Social Change in a Mexican Town," organizes field observations in Oaxaca during five weeks of August and September, 1945. It will be published in the May issue of *Social Forces*.

<sup>3</sup> See the writer's "Mexico City: Its Growth and Configuration," *American Journal of Sociology*, (1945), 295-304.

middle class). Of the twelve wards (*cuarteles*) in Mexico City, such indices as percentage of paid domestic servants and average commercial land values show wards 1, 2, and 9 lowest, and 7 and 8 highest. Both of these indices show the privileged wards more than four times as high as the underprivileged ones. In addition to the comparison of village, town, and metropolis, a second method of testing the hypothesis of differential social change is comparison between these underprivileged and privileged wards. In 1940 the literacy rate was 15 per cent lower for the former than for the latter; the percentage sleeping on the ground, four times as high; the percentage married only by a religious ceremony, three times as high. That village life in the hinterland of Mexico City is more conservative than any part of the metropolis was indicated by a literacy rate 16 per cent lower than the three underprivileged wards, the percentage sleeping on the ground, 7 times as high, and a percentage married only by a religious ceremony, 48 per cent higher.

The institutions selected for special study are the familial, economic, governmental, religious, recreational, medical, and educational. Attention will be centered on certain aspects of these institutions that can be measured statistically. The sub-hypothesis will be explored that the rate of change in these selected aspects correlates with such possible determiners as the size of the community and its status at the beginning of the period of study. Interviews and direct observation will provide qualitative insights which will help to explain the statistical findings and will put them in a significant setting. Where possible, photographs will be used to document changes.

#### THE CHANGING FAMILY

That certain aspects of the family change slowly is suggested by the fact that there is little difference between the average size of family in privileged, underprivileged, and hinterland areas. Exclusive of persons living alone, the average size of family in wards 7 and 8 of Mexico City was 4.1; in wards 1, 2, and 9, 4.3; and in the hinterland, 4.7. There is even less difference in the average size of family in city, town, and village. The arithmetical mean for family size in the three large cities of the central plateau was 4.3; in five of the ten towns between 20,000 and 60,000, it was 4.3; and in four representative villages, it was 4.4.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup>The cities included are Mexico City, Guadalajara, and Puebla; the towns, Oaxaca, Morelia, Toluca, Uruapan, and Pachuca; the villages, Tepoztlán, Pátzcuaro, Tecolotlán, and Ixmiquilpan. Field work in Mexico City and Oaxaca will be supplemented with exploratory observations on Guadalajara and Morelia. Our understanding of hinterland villages will be aided by Nathan Whetten's forthcoming monumental volume on *Rural Mexico*.

The status of women in the family is undergoing more rapid change than size of family. According to the Spanish customs that dominated family life in the past, a young woman of good family might not walk on the street alone. She wasn't permitted to work outside of the home. Her academic education was limited. Strict rules governed the relations of the young man and woman before marriage. They could talk with each other through the barred windows of the girl's home, but these conversations had to be concealed from the parents. Marriage was exclusively a family matter. After marriage there was little companionship between husband and wife outside of the home. Even in conservative Oaxaca these customs are changing. Many young women from the better families are now free to go with men to dances, picnics, or even bars. One of the best indices is the increasing number of unmarried women who are working for a monetary return. This makes the *señoritas* more independent. They can choose their own sweethearts. This trend has probably gone further in the larger cities. More facts are needed to determine the extent of these changes in the status of women, and especially to learn the degree to which companionship in marriage is increasing.

Some pertinent 1940 facts for the cities, towns, and villages mentioned above are: (1) the sex ratios increased from city to village (83.7 → 90.4 → 98.1, respectively); (2) the ratios of widowers to widows (data not available for Oaxaca) also increased (15.5 → 21.9 → 28.0); (3) the percentage of all women of marriageable age (14 years and over) who were unmarried decreased from city to village (37.7 ← 34.4 ← 24.5). These gradients show that getting married or remarried is more difficult for city women than for town women and more difficult for town women than for village women. Is city life accompanied by an increase in the amount of paid work for women outside of the home with greater financial independence or by keener competition for the available men with greater dependence or by a balance between these two?

Child-welfare programs reflect the impact of mobility on the underprivileged families of the cities. Mothers of small children are often abandoned by their husbands. In Mexico City widely scattered centers serve free breakfasts to such children. Voluntary committees of wealthy women from the better neighborhoods assist public-welfare employees with these projects. One of the best-equipped child-welfare centers in the metropolis is located in the middle of Peralvillo, a proletarian *colonia* two miles north of the central business district. Breakfasts are served free to about two hundred children. A room is provided where poor mothers may wash their

clothes; work projects enable some of these women to earn a little money; and a separate building provides a refuge for abandoned mothers and their children. Long lines of mothers with small children wait at the clinic to be issued milk for their babies or to have them examined by doctors who contribute their services.

#### HANDICRAFT TO FACTORY

A significant economic contrast is that between the methods of the handicraftsman in a provincial town and the techniques of the factory worker in a large-scale metropolitan industry. Manufacturing in Oaxaca and its trade area is almost exclusively in the handicraft stage. A detailed study of a sample of handicraft households would be enlightening. To what extent are old arts being debased in response to tourist demand?

The struggle between labor and management becomes increasingly important in the larger Mexican cities. The Mexican Confederation of Labor, organized in 1936, not only improves the economic condition of its members, but also takes an active interest in national affairs. On the part of management there is a tendency to push to the limit for profit. Individualism is rampant. How does the life of the factory worker in the metropolis differ from that of the handicraftsman in the provincial town?

#### THE ROLE OF THE GENERAL

As H. B. Parkes has clearly indicated, "The reality behind the forms of the Mexican Constitution has always been the rule of individual leaders . . . . Politicians have tended to group themselves around individual leaders instead of uniting on a basis of common attachment to a body of doctrines . . . . No Mexican government can hold office without retaining the favor of at least a majority of the army leaders; and with the single exception of Benito Juárez, no President who was not himself a general has ever completed a full term of office."<sup>5</sup> The role of the general in the state governments of Oaxaca, Michoacán, and Jalisco, and in the federal government, would consequently be an important aspect of this fundamental institution. As the cultural conservatism of a community decreases, is there a tendency for caudillism to decline?

#### "IDOLS BEHIND ALTARS"

Manuel Gamio differentiates four types of religion in Mexico: pagan-ism, mixed Catholicism, Roman Catholicism, Protestantism. Catholicism is

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<sup>5</sup> "Political Leadership in Mexico," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCVIII (1940), 12-22. In 1945 the number of generals in active service was reduced from 682 to 84, the number of colonels from 500 to 65.

more likely to be mixed with pagan elements in the hinterland villages than in the cities. "The more conservative folk, even though they may be living in Catholicized communities, make very little distinction between saints and idols," writes Frances Toor in her *A Treasury of Mexican Folkways*.<sup>6</sup> To what extent does the "folk religion" permeate Catholicism in the different communities? As indicated by such indices as the attendance of men at mass, in which community does the church have most prestige? Is the fight against the small Protestant group—1.7 per cent of the population in Mexico City and .7 per cent in Oaxaca—most extreme in hinterland villages, town, or metropolis?

The only legal marriage in Mexico is that performed by a civil ceremony. More than half of the married population of the Federal District in 1940 had been united by both civil and religious rites. The percentage of the total married population united in religious matrimony was 6.3 in the privileged wards, 13.7 in the underprivileged wards, and 19.1 in the hinterland precincts. For the three cities mentioned above, the rate was 14.8, for the towns 21.9, and for the villages 19.3. In general, these rates are lower in the cities and higher in the more conservative towns and villages, where the folk religion is stronger.

#### FIESTA TO FESTIVAL

The relative importance of traditional as compared with commercialized recreation tends to decline as mobility increases. The religious fiesta, a Mexican tradition established long before the Conquest, may be used as an example of the former; the movies, of the latter. "Fiestas were at their best when there were no competing amusements," writes Miss Toor.<sup>7</sup> "They have degenerated rapidly since 1920, when the country entered into its present era of modernization. The rural schools have many entertainments, most of the larger towns have movie houses now, and in many villages either a storekeeper or a school has a radio with an amplifier for broadcasting programs to the people gathered on the plazas. Paradoxically, the many splendid highways constructed during the last two decades . . . spoil fiestas more than anything else . . . . It is only in the villages difficult of approach that the fiestas are still unspoiled and often lovely." As Robert Redfield points out in his *Folk Culture of Yucatan*, the sacred fiesta tends to become a secular festival as one moves from the very religious, homogeneous, peasant village

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<sup>6</sup> (New York, 1947), p. 109.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 172.

of Tusik, isolated in the forests of Quintana Roo, to the relatively impersonal, heterogeneous, disorganized city of Merida.<sup>8</sup>

All classes in Oaxaca like the movies. Many middle- and upper-class persons attend two or three times a week. The privileged classes do not like the Spanish dubbing<sup>9</sup> now used for American films and prefer the older method of English dialogue with Spanish explanations. The words of the dubbing do not fit the lip movements of the actors. Because so many of them cannot read, plebeian patrons like the dubbing better.

#### MAGIC TO MEDICINE

Health facilities and attitudes vary greatly in village, town, and city. The 1930 distribution of medical men was one per twelve thousand inhabitants in Oaxaca state, one per five thousand in Michoacán, one per three thousand in Jalisco, one per seven hundred in the Federal District. The 1939 distribution of public hospitals was one for 200,000 in Oaxaca, one for 43,000 in the Federal District. In the Federal District there are also many private hospitals. The mortality rate in Mexico is very high—twice as high as in Uruguay, the United States, or Argentina, and not much less than in Chile and Egypt, which have the highest rates among the countries with reliable mortality statistics.<sup>10</sup> What are the general and specific mortality rates for hinterland areas, town, and metropolis, and how much have they changed in recent years in response to the preventive programs of the state governments and of the Federal Department of Health?

#### THE FIGHT AGAINST ILLITERACY

Mexico's educators have been responsive to the agrarian folk culture; they have tried to make their schools an integral part of the local community life; and they have exhibited an unusual zeal for reform. The extent to which this program has actually persuaded people to use new work techniques or to adopt modern methods of curing disease is difficult to measure. The changing pattern of illiteracy can, however, be measured. With the exception of the Federal District, illiteracy increases by belts as one moves southward across Mexico toward the more Indian Guerrero-Oaxaca-Chiapas zone. Of the Federal District population over six years of age in 1940, one

<sup>8</sup> Chicago, 1941.

<sup>9</sup> The term "dubbing" is used in the motion-picture industry for the introduction of a voice—in this situation Spanish-speaking—other than that of the actor. The Mexicans call the substitute voice a *doblaje* or double.

<sup>10</sup> U. S. Bureau of the Census, "International Vital Statistics" (May 2, 1940), Figure 6. Deaths per 1,000 population were approximately: Uruguay, 10; United States, 11; Argentina, 12; Mexico, 22; Chile, 25; Egypt, 29.



in four was illiterate as compared with two in four for the country as a whole, and three in four for Oaxaca state. The rate for Oaxaca City is about the same as that for the hinterland of Mexico City. In the three cities, five towns, and four villages cited above, the percentages of the population six years and over who can read and write show the following downward gradient: 74.0 → 54.4 → 37.2. What other aspects of education are associated with these differences?

Two-thirds of the population in Mexico is rural. Three out of every four persons are more Indian than white in ancestry. The Indians have a thousand years of tradition behind them. With this background, rapid change in social institutions is not to be expected. Certain phases of institutional life—such as average size of family, government by individual leaders, and the folk religion—show little tendency to change. There seem to be moderate changes in the status of women, the methods of work, the religious fiestas, the health practices, and the percentage of literacy as one moves from hinterland village to provincial town, to city. It is clear that certain aspects of Mexican social institutions are changing, and they are changing differentially.

## SELF-APPRAISAL BY RURAL AND URBAN YOUTH OF THEIR PREPAREDNESS FOR ADULT ROLES

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It is assumed that youth's preparedness for adult roles in our society can be determined in part by: (1) consideration of the responses made by youth to specific questions dealing with maturity, (2) consideration of what youth feel their personal problems to be insofar as the problems reflect upon youth's preparedness for adult roles.

To the extent that the picture of youth's appraisal of their readiness for maturity can be given reasonably concise definition, it should be a matter of concern to educators by aiding in the analysis of curricular and educational procedures; to sociologists in anticipating the adjustments youth must make as they migrate, climb, or fall socially.

Readiness for the mature role in modern society, in addition to commonly accepted criteria of physical readiness and legal competence, is measured most meaningfully by the nature of the social conditioning of the individual. This is perhaps best determined by the degree of self-integration of the person and by his flexibility in adjusting to numerous roles in the wide variety of group experiences characterizing the modern life.

The material upon which this paper is based is gathered primarily from the results of a survey conducted among high school youth of the state of Washington in May of 1947. Approximately 5,000 students, the graduation classes of over 150 high schools from various sections of the state, filled out the questionnaire in the schoolroom, where it was presented by school officials. The instrument used called for over 600 responses to items divided into the areas of relationship most meaningful in the life of the average youth. These areas concerned the youth in his home and family and in school; his attitude toward vocations and his plans for the future; his social life, including the girl- or boy-friend relationships; his attitude toward morals, ideals, and religion.

These data were analyzed on the basis of the locale of the school attended, the classifications Rural, Town, Suburban, or Urban being used; this served to bring into focus certain patterns of youth attitudes and problems that seemed particularly meaningful:

1. Rural youth were those attending high school in places of under 2,500 population.
2. Town youth were those attending school in communities with over 2,500 population but less than 10,000.

3. Suburban youth were those attending school within metropolitan areas but outside the jurisdiction of the general school administration of the city.
4. Urban youth were those attending high school in cities over 10,000.

It must be remembered that those youth are a select group and that the conclusions here drawn may be applied by inference only to those youth out of school. If the school experience has the effect of making rural and urban youth more nearly alike, the out-of-school rural and urban youth might show more deviant characteristics.

The chi-square test of the significance of differences was employed in analyzing the responses of these seniors. The Tables, which are too extensive to be included in this article, have been reproduced and can be obtained by request from L. J. Elias, Division of Rural Sociology, The State College of Washington.

The results of the inquiry as to youth's appraisal of their own maturity are noted in the tabulation of youth responses to questions which dealt with:

1. *Their feeling of adequacy with regard to taking over the role of father or mother in their own home.*

(I am sure I could manage:) Rural girls 73.1 per cent, urban girls 73.7 per cent; rural boys 65.5 per cent, urban boys 54.7 per cent.

2. *Their feeling of readiness for adult responsibility.*

(Ready for adult responsibility:) Rural girls 63.5 per cent, urban girls 63.2 per cent; rural boys 62.7 per cent, urban boys 60.7 per cent.

3. *Their willingness or reluctance to leave home.*

(Anxious to leave home:) Rural girls 45.5 per cent, urban girls 47.9 per cent; rural boys 42.8 per cent, urban boys 46.3 per cent.

4. *Possibility of having made a vocational choice.*

(Fairly sure of a vocational choice:) Rural girls 61.4 per cent, urban girls 67.4 per cent; rural boys 46.1 per cent, urban boys 53.8 per cent.

5. *Plans for continuing education.*

(Intend to continue education after high school:) Rural girls, 54.1 per cent, urban girls 64.1 per cent; rural boys 49.9 per cent, urban boys 65.5 per cent.

(Uncertain:) Rural girls 18.1 per cent, urban girls 16.6 per cent; rural boys 25.8 per cent, urban boys 16.1 per cent.

6. *Their views on getting married.*

(Getting married as soon as they finish high school and meet the right person:) Rural girls 42.5 per cent, urban girls 39.2 per cent; rural boys 24.7 per cent, urban boys 19.3 per cent.

Interpretation of these responses as indicating how youth saw themselves and their fitness for the mature role:

1. Urban youth were more certain of their choices for the future; had stronger concepts of what they wanted their lives to be; showed somewhat greater objectivity on the whole in defining themselves with regard to the future and its possibilities for them.
2. There was somewhat greater willingness among urban youth to leave home and community. Although this is of limited significance statistically, contrast that phenomenon against the known pattern of youth mobility which finds an exceedingly high proportion of rural youth (36 per cent to 59 per cent)<sup>1</sup> leaving their homes for towns and cities. One would be led to expect rural youth to show anticipatory restlessness and dissatisfaction with the community, which would have some effect in preparing them psychologically for transition to a new environment. The reverse of such a pattern seems more in evidence.
3. The responses indicate significantly that rural boys felt more certain of their ability to assume the responsibilities of their fathers than did urban youth. Equally notable, perhaps, is the uniformly high feeling of readiness on the part of girls from all groups as compared to all boys. The total percentage for all girls was 73.7 per cent expressing similar readiness with regard to the responsibilities of their mothers, as compared to 61.4 per cent of the boys.

Of the seniors studied, 49.8 per cent of the boys had made a decision as to a vocation; 50.2 per cent had not. Of the girls, 64.5 per cent had made some decision concerning vocations; 35.4 per cent had not. Indecision was greatest among rural boys, 53.3 per cent of whom were undecided. Indecision was least among girls, particularly urban girls, 67 per cent of whom indicated a choice of vocation.

The responses indicated that approximately 65 per cent of urban youth planned to continue their education after high school, as compared to 52 per cent of rural youth. Significantly, 21.7 per cent of rural youth were undecided in the matter of continuing their education, as compared to 16.1 per cent of urban youth.

Insofar as planning to continue education constitutes postponing the assumption of adult roles, and an implied admission of unreadiness, this indicates that approximately 50 per cent of rural boys are postponing the

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<sup>1</sup> Paul H. Landis, "The Territorial and Occupational Mobility of Washington Youth," Washington Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 449 (July, 1944).

assumption of adult responsibilities. Though no comparable figures are available from previous rural youth, it is not likely to be contradicted that this is a high proportion of rural youth proposing to continue their education beyond high school as compared to previous rural youth generations.

Plans for marriage frequently coincide in the thinking of young people with adult responsibility, and the responses revealed the opinions of the seniors with regard to plans for marriage. It is evident that rural youth were more likely to be giving early consideration to marriage than urban. The difference is particularly significant in respect to boys.

The second approach to analysis of youth's maturity is the indirect one of examining the self-acknowledged problems of youth and rendering more or less arbitrary judgment as to what they may reveal with regard to youth's readiness for adult responsibility. This approach must be made guardedly as numbers of problems listed could indicate either lack of preparation and corresponding personal concern or might indicate a greater degree of insight on the part of the youth.

The problems here discussed were selected from a check list of 240 because: (1) they were typical of youth's problems; (2) they were more likely to indicate a difference between rural and urban youth. An indication of the approximate universality of these problems among youth of all groups is the fact that one in three to one in four boys and girls checked the first few of the problems listed in order below. The following items were checked by one in three to one in four youth:

1. *"Being able to talk to people"*

Rural girls 34.8 per cent, urban girls 31.4 per cent; rural boys 29.3 per cent, urban boys 26.2 per cent.

2. *"Want to make something of myself"*

Rural girls 31.6 per cent, urban girls 34.3 per cent; rural boys 28.3 per cent, urban boys 24.2 per cent.

3. *"How to develop self-confidence and poise"*

Rural girls 35.2 per cent, urban girls 34.7 per cent; rural boys 14.8 per cent, urban boys 22.4 per cent.

4. *"Can't seem to concentrate"*

No notable difference between rural and urban youth.

5. *"Having a desirable personality"*

Rural girls 26.4 per cent, urban girls 23.6 per cent; rural boys 22.9 per cent, urban boys 23.2 per cent.

6. *"What makes a good marriage"*

Rural girls 35.1 per cent, urban girls 28.7 per cent; rural boys 15.3 per cent, urban boys 11.6 per cent.

7. *"Hurting people's feelings"*

Rural girls 27.3 per cent, urban girls 23.6 per cent; rural boys 23.1 per cent, urban boys 21.4 per cent.

8. *"Wanting people to like me"*

No notable difference between rural and urban youth.

9. *"Worrying too much"*

Rural girls 22.1 per cent, urban girls 24.1 per cent; rural boys 12.1 per cent, urban boys 15.9 per cent.

Insofar as total number of personal problems checked is an indication of uncertainty, indecision, relative unreadiness, we find rural boys checking 19 problems on an average, as compared to 18 for urban boys. Rural girls checked an average of 22 problems, as compared to 21 for urban girls. This is a significant difference of approximately 3 per cent for boys, and 4 per cent for girls.

These problems of youth tend to reveal the differences between rural and urban youth which persist in spite of such common culture patterns as may have evolved. Results may be integrated in summary somewhat as follows:

The problems of rural youth reflect the concerns of youngsters adjusting themselves to security in a small-group social world where person-to-person relationships were direct, intimate, and open. "Not being attractive," "getting along with brothers and sisters," "how to make a good marriage," and "getting along with teachers" are significant pointers. Rural youth's choice of an ideal age for marriage one to three years earlier than urban youth and also the reluctance to leave home indicate the predilection for continuing a personal social life of warmth and intimacy, an uneasiness about facing migration into a strange social world of impersonal competition lying outside the range of their immediate knowledge.

On the other hand, the youth from the large urban communities worry about: "developing self-confidence and poise," "worrying too much." They voice a complaint about wanting more friendly teachers rather than complaining about not getting along with them. They reflect the fact that they are accustomed to ego challenges in their limited primary group life, in that "attitude toward their parents" is more frequently a source of intra-family conflict with them than it is with rural youth (12.4 per cent of rural to 18.9 per cent of urban youth so reported).

As we examine these problems of youth, two conclusions perhaps should merit attention. The first: youth's worries tend to center about his self-integration and adjustment to his or her social world. Second: parents, family, and school are doing very little in an objective, analytical way to help youth with these problems. Assuming, for a moment, that our educational effort is now directed toward worth-while goals, we clearly see that in many matters directly and vitally concerned in the process of social growth and the maturation of our youth, we are allowing accident to govern the educational process. Too frequently the decision as to whether a youth is prepared for maturity is decided in the negative by default as age forces him to fill an adult role for which he or she is not as yet integrated through experience and emotional adjustment. If roles are rejected inwardly but reluctantly accepted outwardly, they often add to neuroses in our young adult group, which have already assumed significant proportions.

It may be offered as a reasonable conjecture that the increasingly high proportion of American youth going to college, and the increasing amount of indecision among them as to what to do when they get there, in part represents an escape from maturity through prolongation of adolescence. The increasing complexity of modern life, the diversity and confusion of contemporary living may be frightening more of our young people out of the desire to assume the adult role.

Proper analysis of youth problems and attitudes, and meaningful categorizations of these must lie in identifying the youth with patterns of group dynamics, role-playing techniques, societal structures, intra- and inter-group tensions in which the maturing youth is involved and in which his or her personality is shaped. Our society, in preparing its youth for mature roles and the assumption of adult responsibilities, must recognize and properly evaluate the different types of socializing experience to which youth are subjected. It must develop supplementary types of educational procedures that the subject-matter-dominated school programs may adequately prepare all youth for normal adult social experience.

## PROFESSORS IN RETIREMENT<sup>1</sup>

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My first intention was to present in statistical and somewhat wearisome detail the lot of some 360 retired professors from whom I have received reports and correspondence. My later judgment is to leave this detail for the journals and to interpret certain problems which confront the professor who experiences retirement.

The very abruptness of retirement, the sudden change from days full of regular and familiar duties with obligations and relationships well-defined to days empty of familiar routine and with the line of duty and relationship ill-defined provides a shock to many. They sense that "lost" feeling which characterizes the termination of routine at any stage of life, such as graduation from high school, moving from one's home town, or separation from close companions. Here, however, as in previous situations, time is the great healer. The first few months or a year are difficult, after which most retirants work out some acceptable adjustment to their new life. Yet a few, even after years, reveal that, though resigned to their lot, they have sought no adjustment which might produce a different reaction. An occasional person never ceases his active resistance to retirement. The retirant does not often find his new status defined in terms of economic relationships. Although almost half engage in work or provide services which bring some financial return, a very large number find their satisfactions and sense of usefulness in fields quite apart from the economic. We err if we assume that only the paid job can give one a feeling of participation and status.

Opinion and reaction are decidedly divided over the question as to how much the retirant should hold to the associations, relationships, and memories of his past. Clearly many who have not made preparation for this experience have nothing else to hold to but the past. In contrast, those who have planned for the new activities and the new world which lies ahead will naturally release many of their old relationships with ease. It is not that they discard former friends and pleasant memories. They do not. It is only that the new experiences and relationships assume central importance and the old must naturally give way.

We are not warranted in laying down any general rule for all to follow. Nevertheless, the experience of the 360 reviewed here and the

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<sup>1</sup> Abstract of a paper drawn from a larger study, for which financial assistance was given by the Social Science Council and the University of Oregon.



work which others have done on this point appear to justify the following position. For those who elect to retire and are sufficiently resilient in attitudes for that experience, there is some evidence that a clean break with the past gives promise of a happier adjustment than any attempt to hold fast to experiences and relationships which are now only memories. It is wise to substitute the new for the old if for no other reason than the fact that the old soon becomes peopled with ghosts. A retired professor puts it this way:

At my college, most of my old colleagues have passed away. When busy in college life, one does not pay much attention to this matter, but now when I visit the college the corridors and lecture rooms and offices are peopled with ghosts. In this hall the professor of physics once told the president he lied. In that lecture room the professor accused us of inspecting his record book. Too much time for old memories.

In the long run it makes little difference whether one remains or leaves the home community in regard to the desirability of new friends and associates. If one stays, the change is more gradual, but, because it is such, new associates may be neglected too long. Moreover, it must be realized that the retired professor will not usually find satisfying associations among the new faculty members. The old sources of informal companionship are of limited value; new ones must be created. It is easy to say that new friends must be made, but it is equally important to establish these connections through which such friendships may develop. We utilize almost entirely the associations in school, shop, faculty, church, lodge, or neighborhood in the selection of friends. For many during their employment years the shop, office, or faculty connections may suffice. In retirement the choice of new friends will normally come from other groupings. One professor anticipating this became a member of the Masonic lodge in his early sixties as an escape from the narrower academic associations. There is the occasional individual who will make his social way without benefit of such sources, but most of us depend upon them for discovery of companions. The widely publicized Three-quarter Century Club of St. Petersburg not only provides the bases of new social contacts with dances, shuffle board contests, and a variety of other activities, but the membership of some three thousand makes possible a desired selection in the choice of these intimate friends.

Those who move to new communities for retirement are compelled to look to their social outlets. The same established social groups will be of assistance here that aided in their former community. Also symbols of permanence may aid in one's acceptance into the new community. One

retirant writes, "We bought a home in the community to which we retired. This helped us a lot from the very beginning." It should hardly be necessary to emphasize that the newcomer, whatever his age, must be willing to go at least "half way" in the building of his new individual and group relations. The attitude of "here I am, a retired professor; come and make my acquaintance" is not a sufficient gesture. In the beginning it usually requires more effort than the mere hanging out of the latch string.

That retirants who move frequently establish satisfying social relations is suggested in numerous reports. Many indicate that the new are more satisfying and more congenial than the former. On the other hand, certain retirants live lonely lives and report the inability to make friends. A closer examination of their records often reveals attitudes of withdrawal, definitely "set ideas" about life, and unwillingness to share the "give and take" of social relations.

Aside from the family circle and lodge and church associations, there is a tendency for the social contacts of the aged to be restricted to other aged persons. If such contacts can be freely chosen and result from a selection of available elders, life can be rich and stimulating. That close association with others of their own age frequently lacks such stimulation is suggested by many. In fact, many seek definitely to avoid associates of their own age. In the opinion of these, other elderly persons are too old and inactive, are forlorn, look to the past, and have too many complaints. Most of the retirants who report in this vein prefer association with younger persons, or at least they desire to balance the old with those younger.

Other and often different problems in social relationships exist for the widowed, the ones who take residence with children, and the members of old people's homes. The widow or widower has usually suffered a loss in emotional security which without remarriage may never be replaced. Although the proportion of those who desire other marital partners can never be determined, one needs only to observe the park benches in retirement centers to realize that they number many. Perhaps this type comes in greater number to locations where they believe "the pickings are better." Even those who seek no mates may share a freer social life than by remaining in their old communities, where they would be more restrained in the role of widows or widowers. Because over a fifth of the men and nearly a half of the women between sixty-five and seventy-five are mateless, the quest for love is frequently added to that for friends.

Whether in the earlier years or in retirement, man "does not live by bread alone." He craves a bit of the jam of status and recognition with his daily fare. The appetites of some crave great quantities; others are content with little. The great majority of retirants reveal a sense of proportion in their reactions. These may still sense the loss of previous influence but recognize that men grow old and less capable of handling their previous responsibilities. They accept this surrender, as they have accepted the previous surrenders in life, as inevitable. Some report, with possible rationalization on their part, that they regard their emeritus status as a promotion. Retired professors from small colleges often feel that there has been little change in the reception or importance in the small college community. Many find status in new ventures and activities, and some report that their new status far exceeds anything they have known in the past. The retirants may derive considerable satisfaction from the memory of their previous stations. They remember that they "had their day" and that it was a pretty good one, so that there is still enough left to meet their needs. A reflected glory in the retirement period occasionally comes to those whose former students achieve some distinction. Many have lost only that which they desired to lose, and they prefer being "private persons" to living in the public eye.

Fears and a certain amount of worry are the lot of many who experience the separation from established ways and the approach of new adventures. If the farm lad of eighteen leaves his home to make his way in the city, the man of twenty-five anticipates marriage, the professor of forty considers a change in location or the acceptance of heavy debts in the purchase of a home—these and many other changes bring to cautious persons uncertainties and the injection of many bogies into the unknown future. It is not different as one approaches retirement except as one may have learned from long experience that most projected disasters never occur—at least not in the severity anticipated. One can give too much attention to the unknown future. Especially is this true if one attempts to anticipate all eventualities and to solve all problems which the future may bring. The intelligent person does not do this in his earlier life, and if he seeks to anticipate too much, he is robbed of a great deal of the adventure in life. A former teacher of English faces each day as it comes, leaving the meeting of possibly serious future problems to the future:

Not having an adequate income is real trouble, for \$102 a month, with prices as they are now, is not sufficient for me to live as I am living, and when I have used up the money I saved from the salary paid me for writing the history

of my school, I shall have to sell this place and my car (the car is a necessity in a village practically without transportation, as well as a great pleasure) and make some other living arrangements—I haven't the slightest idea what they will be. But I am not worrying, for I may not be alive then, or, if alive, not be well and active, and I think the knowledge that, if I live long, I shall have to give up my home, my garden, and my car intensifies my enjoyment of them now. This, however, is simply making the best of a situation that I wish were different.

Let us insert the highly debatable question, "At what age should one retire?" No categorical answer can be offered. For some of us retirement, like birth, is an involuntary event. The developments in business and professional life dictate that ultimately many of us will retire from the vocation of middle years whether we will or not. Several regard the question of the time to retire as settled by the institutional practices under which they work. They have already accepted the age established for retirement and regard such practice safer than relying on individual judgments in each case. That variation below the final retirement age, however, may be desirable for personal and departmental reasons stands without question. A few hold that one should never retire as long as health is retained.

In this debate over the time of retirement, Henry James has offered wise counsel:

An eminent physician who has numbered many university teachers among his patients said to me, "Some people blossom afresh and find zest in a new life after they retire; others shrivel up unhappily and disintegrate." What makes the difference? There can be no single answer. But I am sure that it makes a great deal of difference whether a man has planned or entered upon his retirement before he has lost his elasticity and initiative or not until after his power of arranging and adapting himself to a new way of life has begun to be impaired. . . . I am under the unhappy impression that at least one quarter to one third of the university professors begin to lose their ability to make decisions, to take up new interests, and to form new habits before they betray what is happening to them by fumbling over the performance of familiar duties. A person who neither retires nor makes intelligent plans for living in retirement before he loses his elasticity is doomed to more or less malaise and unhappiness when he does retire.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>"How to Determine the Retirement Date," *Association of American Colleges Bulletin*, XXX (1944), 542-51.

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### *In Memoriam*

Doctor Glen E. Carlson, a past president of the Pacific Sociological Society, died suddenly of a heart attack on May 24, 1948. He had come to the Pacific Coast in 1931 and was on the faculty of the University of Redlands till his death. His Ph. D. work was done under the tutelage of Charles Horton Cooley at the University of Michigan.

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# RESEARCH STUDIES of the STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON

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## THE CHRONOLOGY OF WYCLIF'S ENGLISH SERMONS<sup>1</sup>

MARGARET WALLACE RANSOM

*Fellow in English*

### I. THE NECESSITY OF A NEW CHRONOLOGY

Because the English sermons of John Wyclif represent not a sequence but a compilation of writings over a period of years, their internal chronology and their relationship to his other works should be studied in order to trace the development of his attitudes and doctrines. No systematic study has been made of the individual discourses in this respect. In fact, until recently the dating of the entire group had been indefinite. Lewis Sergeant, writing in 1892, says, "At some date which it is not possible to determine, Wyclif composed a number of sermons on the subject of the Sunday Gospels"<sup>2</sup>; then he adds that these and other discourses were collected and published in 1382. In 1926, John Workman wrote that the *Epistolae dominicales*, because they paraphrase the Scripture, probably precede the translation of the Bible, which he dates between 1380 and 1384<sup>3</sup>, and that the Sunday Gospel group, which seems to be a translation, follows an early edition of the Scripture; this is his only attempt to date the collection, three parts of which he omitted. The unsupported statement that "Wyclif began to preach sermons in English as early as 1361"<sup>4</sup> is made by George Innis in *Wycliffe: The Morning Star*, published in 1907, but no specific reference is made to the entire group. In attempting to establish the authenticity of the homilies, Thomas Arnold, their editor, concludes:

The authoritative tone, the proneness to subtle and recondite distinctions,

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<sup>1</sup> This study was made as a thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts at the State College of Washington under the supervision of Doctor Paul P. Kies. The writer is also indebted to Doctor Murray Bundy and Doctor Tolbert H. Kennedy, the other members of the thesis committee, and to Doctor William L. Landeen, under whose instruction she became interested in Wyclif.

<sup>2</sup> *John Wyclif* (New York, 1892), p. 209.

<sup>3</sup> *John Wyclif* (Oxford, 1926), II, 156.

<sup>4</sup> (New York, 1907), p. 153.

so completely in harmony with what we know of Wyclif's fame in the schools, the special hostility to the friars, the allusions to contemporary events, such as the crusade of Bishop Spencer, and the grant of papal indulgences to those who engaged in it (p. 136)—events which occurred in 1383, and therefore would have been naturally referred to in a series of sermons preached in his parish of Lutterworth during the last two years of his life, after he had been compelled to retire from Oxford by the Council of 1382—lastly, a distinct reference at the end of Sermon XXX. (p. 79) to a Latin work, by the writer, which, it can hardly be doubted, was the *De Veritate Scripturae*,—all these converging proofs, taken in connection with the unbroken tradition surrounding the MSS... appear to establish Wyclif in the authorship of these sermons beyond all reasonable doubt.<sup>5</sup>

This same period is accepted by Herbert Winn, who wrote in 1929 that Wyclif "incorporated in them, his own personal experiments in Bible translation."<sup>6</sup> Finally in 1937, William Talbert, in an article in *Speculum*, suggested that the sermons covered a period from 1376 or 1377 to several years beyond Wyclif's death; in supporting his statements, he mentioned specific incidents of early and late events which serve to date individual treatises.<sup>7</sup>

With the exception of Talbert, all of the biographers and commentators have assumed that the dissertations were written in consecutive order; however, a careful study of individual sermons shows abrupt transition of ideas and references that weaken this general conclusion. Nor can a dated sequence be made for the order of the five groups—the *Evangelia dominicalia*, *Evangelia ferialia*, *Commune sanctorum*, *Proprium sanctorum*, and *Epistolae dominicales*—because each section includes sermons reflecting ideas from the earliest criticism to the latest.

Therefore the purpose of this study was to examine each text carefully in order to ascertain whether it can be assigned to either a definite year or a definite period of attitudes or events. The method was threefold. First, all those homilies which include

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Arnold, ed., *Select English Works of John Wyclif* (Oxford, 1869-71), Vol. I, pp. xiv-xv. (All citations to Wyclif's work, unless otherwise indicated, refer to this edition. Hereafter, in citations to them, only the volume numbers [in Roman] and page numbers [in Arabic] will be given. For sermons, ordinarily only the volume number and the first page are listed, inasmuch as an idea under consideration usually involves the whole or nearly the whole sermon, and each homily consists of only a few pages. For actual quotations, however, the specific pages of the excerpts are given.)

<sup>6</sup> Herbert Winn, ed., *Wyclif: Select English Writings* (Oxford, 1929), p. xviii.

<sup>7</sup> William Talbert, "Date of Composition of the English Wyclifite Collection of Sermons," *Speculum*, XII (1937), 464-74.

specific internal reference to historical events were considered. Second, the dated Latin and English tracts were studied for the development of attitudes and theories. The similarity of subject matter in the sermons was then noted. Third, assumptions had to be used to date certain sermons whose references are so indefinite that positive dating evidence does not exist.

One value of such a chronology is to give proper perspective to the sermons in their relation to the other writings. Of equal importance is the establishment of a systematic development of those ideas that caused Wyclif to have bitter enemies in the Catholic Church, which he abused so freely, and that enabled him to influence leaders of the coming reformation, such as Hus.

## II. SERMONS DATED BY REFERENCE TO HISTORICAL EVENTS

Although John Wyclif had been sufficiently critical of the clergy and papacy to have occasioned bulls from Gregory XI which called for a trial on heretical beliefs, he voices only the essence of these doctrines in the English sermons, so that the early treatises can be dated only by inference. But in 1378 a series of events began which so profoundly affected him that he speaks of them specifically in some of his homilies, and in others he refers to them indirectly.

The death in March, 1378, of Pope Gregory XI, who had the previous year restored the papacy to Rome after seventy years of the Babylonian captivity at Avignon, brought about the greatest catastrophe of Catholicism: the Great Schism. In April, Urban VI was elected Pope as the result of dissension among the cardinals and of the clamor of the Roman people, but because he decided to remain in Rome, the rebel cardinals later in the year chose Clement VII, who would dwell in Avignon.

Urban, in November, damned the schismatics and preached a Crusade against them. European nations took sides early in the breach; and England, always an enemy of France, declared herself for Urban. Even the monastic orders split into two factions, each having its own pontiff. The Crusade became an actuality when Bishop Henry le Spencer (or Despenser) was authorized in December, 1382, to proclaim it in England. The friars undertook the task of inspiring the people to participate in the campaign against Flanders, and lucrative indulgences were offered to all participants.

Finally, in April, 1383, the crusaders embarked, but they returned ingloriously that fall after a shamefully destructive conflict.

At first, Wyclif followed Urban, as is shown by tracts which will be discussed later; therefore the gospel sermon for the fifth Sunday after the Octave of Twelfth Day, in which he foretells the destruction of the antipope (Clement), was evidently written shortly after the second election.<sup>1\*</sup> Urban's damning of his enemy in 1378 brought criticism from the English reformer in his Fourth Sunday Gospel after Trinity, in which he urges Christian men to beware of rash damning because not men but only God can judge earthly actions. He adds, "We dampnen [damn] Clement with fan-tours [followers], and thei dampnen us."<sup>2\*</sup>

Although the preaching of the Crusade produced vehement tongue-lashings which fill many of the sermons, his full fury was vented at the slaughter in Flanders; nor did he cease chastising when it was finished.

The statement in Sermon 75 that rumors of war between the popes are abroad probably indicates that that homily was written shortly after the first suggestion of battle.<sup>3\*</sup> Several sermons may be dated in 1382 before the Crusade by the internal allusions to the pre-campaign. The fact that the friars teach English men to fight before enemies do becomes in Sermon 146 the means of discussing Christ's reproving of Peter for fighting with his sword.<sup>4\*</sup> In Sermon 236, friars are accused of shaping war<sup>5\*</sup>; in Sermon 71, each land is said to be preparing to fight for its pope<sup>6\*</sup>; in the sermon for the Fourteenth Wednesday after Corpus Christi, the friars are charged with attempting to make new, but worthless martyrs<sup>7\*</sup>; and in Sermon 237, friars' errors include preaching of fighting.<sup>8\*</sup> The improbity in Urban impels Wyclif to declare in

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<sup>1</sup> I, 95. An asterisk indicates that the sermon under consideration has not been dated by other investigators, and a tentative date is assigned to it in this article.

<sup>2</sup> I, 11. For readers not familiar with Middle English, "th" is substituted for "p" and "g" or "gh" for "z" in quotations from the Arnold, Matthew, and Winn editions; and modern equivalents of the less readily recognized words are added in brackets.

<sup>3</sup> I, 243.

<sup>4</sup> II, 40.

<sup>5</sup> II, 211.

<sup>6</sup> I, 226.

<sup>7</sup> II, 189.

<sup>8</sup> II, 212.

Sermons 72<sup>9\*</sup> and 144<sup>10\*</sup> that men should not fight for the pope; then in Sermon 79, he denounces, as the work of the fiend, the bulls asking for war and the killing of men for unknown reasons.<sup>11\*</sup> In addition to the sermons referring specifically to the war, others elaborate on the wrongness of fighting, a subject which may also have developed in this same period of opposition to a specific battle. These may be summarized as follows: *Commune sanctorum* 55 states that priests should not fight in battles<sup>12\*</sup>; Gospel 6 maintains that it is wrong to fight as men do now (in this crusade)<sup>13\*</sup>; Epistle 3 beseeches men to flee world strife meekly<sup>14\*</sup>; and Epistle 11 reproaches men who call others to fight for charity instead of teaching brotherly love.<sup>15\*</sup>

Again in Gospel 43, alluding to Peter's being censured for fighting, Wyclif asserts that priests should not fight for a cause of less value<sup>16\*</sup>; the tense of the verb, however, would seem to indicate that the crusade is in progress. The war is a certainty in Gospel 41, in which the reformer deplors the plundering and killing,<sup>17</sup> and in Gospel 47, in which he observes that papal absolution for fighting will cease when the conflict ends.<sup>18\*</sup> Epistles 44<sup>19\*</sup> and 45 both state that the two popes are fighting each other, and in Sermons 166<sup>21</sup> and 89<sup>22\*</sup> he mentions the fighting of bishops and priests. According to Sermon 77<sup>23</sup> and Epistle 18,<sup>24\*</sup> the men who were to be worthless martyrs of these wars have become "stynkyng" ones who will go to the fiend. Another sermon which may refer to this same period is the 51st, in which men in war are forbidden to use the Paternoster, a prayer for charity, since they are not forgiving when they seek vengeance in battle.<sup>25\*</sup>

The statements that the friars have preached a war and that time will be required to repair the damage they have done imply that the time of Sermon 221 is either during or just after the Crusade.<sup>26</sup> Mention is made in it of the preaching of a late dream, which is more fully discussed in Sermon 203, in which Wyclif comments that "in a passage late to Flandris the freris prechiden a lady [lady's] dreem, and bi a feyned soilyng [absolving] thei spuylichen

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<sup>9</sup> I, 231.

<sup>10</sup> II, 35.

<sup>11</sup> I, 261.

<sup>12</sup> I, 165.

<sup>13</sup> I, 14.

<sup>14</sup> II, 228.

<sup>15</sup> II, 252.

<sup>16</sup> I, 120.

<sup>17</sup> I, 113.

<sup>18</sup> I, 134.

<sup>19</sup> II, 348.

<sup>20</sup> II, 351.

<sup>21</sup> II, 88.

<sup>22</sup> I, 311.

<sup>23</sup> I, 252.

<sup>24</sup> II, 274.

<sup>25</sup> I, 148.

<sup>26</sup> II, 191.

[spoiled] the people."<sup>27\*</sup> In Gospel 48, the statement is made that "the fend ledde the pope to kille many thousand men to holde his worldely state"<sup>28</sup>; again the use of the past tense indicates that the Crusade is in progress or just past. Since both popes are cited as the fiend's representatives because they slay men in their personal quarrel, Sermons 31<sup>29\*</sup> and 32<sup>30\*</sup> were definitely written after the Crusade was over.

Thus only a few of the total number of sermons may be dated with some degree of certainty in the years from 1378 onward because of their allusions to events of the Schism and particularly to Bishop Spencer's Crusade; therefore other methods of dating will have to be considered.

### III. SERMONS DATED BY SIMILARITY TO TREATISES—1375-78

The main body of Wyclif's English Sermons contains allusions not to dated events but to tenets which he developed over a period of years as the result of his constant clash with the papacy, the clergy, the monastic orders, and the friars. The evolution of these concepts may be traced in the sermons by comparing internal references in them with documents expressing similar points of view that may be dated within a single year or a period of years.

A few biographical facts should be mentioned before his theological development can be studied. His Oxford career started about 1345 and lasted until about 1381, when he was forced to resign from his teaching post because of his heretical doctrines. During his stay at the university he had, as a student, followed a rigorous theological course of study which culminated in 1372, when he received the full Doctorate in Theology, and he had, as a teacher, influenced enough minds with his philosophies to leave a lasting impression on the Reformation. At the time, however, he had other duties. Before his course of study was completed, he had held two rectorships, and he "was obliged to obtain leave of absence from his bishop in order to prosecute his theological studies at Oxford."<sup>1</sup> After he had received his full degree and had served the Crown for several years, he was awarded the Rectory of Lutterworth, which he held to his death. Undoubtedly, his

<sup>27</sup> II, 165.

<sup>28</sup> I, 138.

<sup>29</sup> II, 312.

<sup>30</sup> II, 317.

<sup>1</sup> Winn, *op. cit.*, p. xiv.

attitude toward absentee clergy, which will be discussed more fully in Section VI, forced him to preach there every Sunday; consequently, he probably declared his current views to his parishioners from this time until his death in 1384.

Wyclif's attacks on the corruptness of the whole Church organization began as early as 1374. In that year, in answering accusations of a monk, he had explained his attitude toward the tribute which England had been forced to pay since 1213, when Innocent III had exacted it from the defeated and excommunicated John. The critic maintained:

(1) that the Pope ought to be chief follower of the Christ who abjured all earthly possessions; (2) that chosen laymen should administer the temporalities of the Church; (3) that every one should hold his possessions directly from Christ 'since he is the chief Lord, who grants to every living creature that which he holds'; (4) that the superfluity of ecclesiastical wealth should be divided among the poor.<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore, he represented England on the commission that met in Bruges with papal delegates to discuss this issue which Pope Gregory XI had renewed that same year. In the Tuesday Gospel in the Second Week in Lent, he alludes to John's selling of England for 600 marks.<sup>3</sup> (Arnold points out that the amount was 900, but perhaps the error was made in copying.) The mention of penance money, of the pride of the Pope, and of the covetousness of all clergy relates the sermon to others of this same period.

Two important treatises, *De dominio divino* and *De civili dominio*, were written in 1375 and 1376 and explained concepts of relationship of Church and State, and of both to God. The former, which was paraphrased in English by Wyclif or a follower as *Of Dominion*, evaluates the true position of the clergy, papacy, and secular government. In Chapter 1, he lashes at the clergy for not emulating Christ's example of poverty by living on alms and tithes; instead, they take false endowments which force men to sin, indulge in simony which allows the goods of England to fall into the hands of false or foreign clerics, do evil by hearing confession when they do not maintain God's law, and keep good priests from serving God as He has commanded. The lords of the realm allow this corruption by neglecting necessary correction. According to the

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<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xv.

<sup>3</sup> II, 60.



material in Chapter 2, priests should not take anything that would hinder their preaching; and those despisers of Christ's law are unable to pray and to administer sacraments. The kings are responsible for maintaining God's law, even in the face of excommunication, because God blesses when the fiend curses. The Devil, as well as God, may work miracles through supposed saints; therefore God's law is the most trustworthy guide. In Chapter 3, which is concerned with types of judgment, the king is granted the right of examining the justice of papal bulls. The fact that the Pope's law should not be trusted apart from God's law is developed in Chapter 4, which also insists that priests' crimes are punishable by the laws of England since chastisement is a part of the concept of true brotherly love.<sup>4</sup>

The Latin work *De civili dominio* explains civil and religious lordship. According to this document,

The righteous has all things; . . . the wicked has nothing, and only occupies for a time that which he has unrighteously usurped or stolen from the righteous. In Wycliffe's favourite phrase, lordship is 'founded in grace;' and grace (or, from another point of view, the law of the Gospel) being alone essential to it, it follows necessarily that human ordinances are accidental or indifferent. The whole system of civil society appears to Wycliffe the mere consequence of the fall of man; it originated in sin, in 'the lust of lordship,' and for the most part it betrays its origin evidently enough by the opportunities it affords for wrongdoing and tyranny. . . .

But lordship . . . has another aspect to it; the theory of the community of lordship in itself involves its counterpart, the community of service. In this we find the only check recognised by Wycliffe upon the action of kings: they have a responsibility, not so much to the people over whom they rule as to God from whom they derive their lordship. They are his stewards, and lords only by virtue of service. God is the only lord whose dominion is unattended by this condition; all others are servants not only of God but also of their fellow-men. The Pope himself is named in his own letters 'the servant of the servants of God.' It is the corollary of this, that all things, all that we call property, must belong in common to all. . . .

. . . . The essence of the whole conception lies in the stress which he laid upon inner, as opposed to outer, elements as those which determine a man's proper merit. To Wycliffe, it was the personal relation, the immediate dependence of the individual man upon God, that made him worthy or unworthy; it was his own character, and not his office, that constituted him what he really was. The Pope himself, if a bad man, lost his entire right to lordship.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup>F. D. Matthew, *The English Works of Wyclif* (Early English Text Soc., London, 1880), pp. 284-93.

<sup>5</sup>Reginald Lane Poole, *Wycliffe and Movements for Reform* (London, 1911), pp. 91-94.

Because the pope's duties are spiritual, his participation in earthly affairs contradicts Scripture; the State, therefore, has superiority in temporal affairs. The logical sequence of this argument results in the conclusion that misused church revenues should be reclaimed. For example, a man might refuse to pay tithes to an evil parson, and for such refusal, he could not be excommunicated unless his act is one of sin which places him outside God's law. Thus excommunication results from one's own behavior and is beyond the pope's authority. False excommunication, as the wrong use of the power of the keys, is invalid in God's sight; consequently, the pope is not infallible.

Courtenay and many of his fellow clergy apparently recognized that their positions were threatened by such heretical propositions, and even before definite papal action was taken, they called Wyclif to appear at St. Paul's in 1377. His strong support by John of Gaunt and Lord Percy plus the invasion of the chapel by the commoners hindered positive action.

But so emphatic had Wyclif become that in mid-1377 Gregory XI issued bulls enumerating the heretical principles to be found in the writings, and the originator of these heresies was summoned to Lambeth early in 1378 to answer the charges. Several advantageous situations, which saved Wyclif from more than a slight reproof, included the death of Gregory XI, the new government in England after Edward III's death (in which Wyclif's supporter, John of Gaunt, was supreme), the interference in Wyclif's favor by the Queen Mother, and the general attitude of the Crown toward Church endowment and tribute (on which Wyclif had been asked to speak again in this very year). Eighteen heretical conclusions, however, were listed at this time:

I.-V. No man can grant anything to another and to his descendents in perpetuity: possession and the right to possess depend upon a man's being in a state of grace.

VI. If the Church fail in its duty, the temporal lords may rightfully and lawfully deprive it of its temporal possessions; the judgment of such failure lying not with the theologian but with the civil politician.

VII.-X. The mere act of the Pope, or of the Pope and cardinals, has of itself no power either to enable or to disable any man. Excommunication is of no effect unless its object be already self-excommunicated [by his sin]; it ought never to be exercised except upon offenders against the law of Christ.

XI., XII. There is no warrant in the practice of Christ and his disciples

for excommunicating a man for the withholding of temporal goods, nor have his disciples now-a-days the power to enforce temporal exactions by ecclesiastical censures.

XIII., XIV. The Pope, or whoever pretends to 'bind' and 'loose', only 'binds' and 'looses' so far as he conforms himself to the law of Christ.

XV. Every duly ordained priest has the power of conferring the sacraments, and thus also of absolving the penitent.

XVI., XVII. repeat in stronger language assertions already contained in earlier articles: the King has a right to deprive churchmen of their property if they habitually misuse it; all grants being conditional, no matter who made them, it is lawful to take them away if they are improperly used.

XVIII. A churchman, yea, the Roman Pontiff himself, may be rightly rebuked and even arraigned by his subjects and by laymen.<sup>6</sup>

Although all of these accusations of the hierarchy of the Church persisted and even increased in their forcefulness throughout the development of Wyclif's criticism, their presence in a rather mild form assists in establishing an early date for any sermon in which they occur, provided that they are unaccompanied by theories definitely known to be of a later origin. All sermons quoted below as developing from these beliefs do not seem to have any distinctive ideas presented in dated documents after 1378. The statements here given are not merely isolated or detachable sentences, but resumés of the central themes.

Of the many sins of which Wyclif accuses the clergy and papacy, those of worldliness and covetousness, which are the opposite of Christ's poverty, are stressed forcibly in a number of sermons. Priests are more concerned about wealth than poverty (Sermon 99)<sup>7\*</sup>; pride of worldly goods is as stable as water (Gospel 17)<sup>8\*</sup>; priests are smitten with the sin of covetousness (Sermon 178)<sup>9\*</sup>; we should follow Christ in forsaking worldly goods (Sermon 98)<sup>10\*</sup>; we should not serve the fiend for worldly goods (Sermon 135)<sup>11\*</sup>; the covetousness of the Pope keeps Jews away (those that would come to Christ) (Sermon 159)<sup>12\*</sup>; worldliness will last as long as priests are worldly (Sermon 194)<sup>13\*</sup>; priests reverse God's word in their worldliness (Sermon 156)<sup>14\*</sup>; seculars and priests who covet worldly goods do not serve God (Sermon 215)<sup>15\*</sup>; Christ says that one should flee peril of worldly goods (Sermon 216)<sup>16\*</sup>; priests array themselves with worldly goods

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80.

<sup>7</sup> I, 345.

<sup>8</sup> I, 41.

<sup>9</sup> II, 114.

<sup>10</sup> I, 342.

<sup>11</sup> II, 20.

<sup>12</sup> II, 69.

<sup>13</sup> II, 151.

<sup>14</sup> II, 63.

<sup>15</sup> II, 184.

<sup>16</sup> II, 185.

(Gospel 42).<sup>17\*</sup> Christ's poverty and the proper acceptance of alms are discussed in the following ways: popes will be drowned (that is, will be unable to walk on the water as Christ asked Peter to do) if they do not follow in meekness and poverty (Sermon 110)<sup>20\*</sup>; a man in the Church should be as meek as Christ (Sermon 234)<sup>21\*</sup>; if curates do not labor for their meat, Christians should give the alms directly to the poor and feeble (Sermon 225)<sup>22\*</sup>; prelates who do not give spiritual food are damned (Sermon 124).<sup>23\*</sup>

The burning question of the power of the keys is discussed frequently. In Gospel 19, Wyclif insists that an individual sins only if he offends God and that only God can forgive. Priests who are in accord with the keys can forgive, but if they are not, they only feign absolution. If any man could forgive completely, there would be no need for the prayer, "Lord, forgive us our debts"; but the Gospel does not say that God gave this power to man.<sup>24\*</sup> Again, he says in Gospel 30 that priests can release sin only if they are in accord with God's will; otherwise, their absolution is false<sup>25\*</sup>; and in Sermon 161 he repeats that priests should loose and bind on God's will and not for money.<sup>26\*</sup> In Sermon 170 he declares forcibly that, because priests cannot forgive sin unless God forgave it first, theirs is blasphemy if God has already absolved.<sup>27</sup>

The opposite of worldliness seems to be contemplation, which is proposed in three sermons. Because Wyclif's developing theories insist more and more on active participation in winning the world, these apparently relate to these early ideas. Men who truly follow Christ will observe that he left worldly affairs and sought God's will in all that He did (Sermon 157).<sup>28\*</sup> Although Christ did earthly deeds, His soul spent much time contemplating God; the contemplative, then, is preferable to the active. But the Pope has left the contemplative for the active (Sermon 114).<sup>29\*</sup> In Sermon

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<sup>17</sup> I, 116.

<sup>20</sup> I, 373.

<sup>21</sup> II, 210.

<sup>22</sup> II, 196.

<sup>23</sup> II, 1.

<sup>24</sup> I, 46.

<sup>25</sup> I, 77.

<sup>26</sup> II, 75.

<sup>27</sup> II, 97.

<sup>28</sup> II, 64.

<sup>29</sup> I, 382.

117, priests are told to seek the contemplative and leave worldly occupations and vanities of the world.<sup>30\*</sup>

Another phase of worldliness and covetousness is the desire for high position, for which Wyclif chastises the papacy and clergy when he says that popes, bishops, and cardinals seek high places in the world, whereas Christ could not assure James and John of great station in heaven (Sermon 112).<sup>31\*</sup> In Sermon 115 he warns bishops and popes that temporal possessions and glory may be snares of hell,<sup>32\*</sup> and in Sermon 215 he cries that men who work for worldly fame may be an abomination to God.<sup>33\*</sup> He cautions the Pope in Epistle 53 that, as he goes higher in worldly worship, he shall vanish away like smoke.<sup>34\*</sup> This subject also incorporates benefices and simony, which are condemned in Sermon 195, because popes and prelates lift their friends to fat dignitaries.<sup>35\*</sup> Again in Epistle 26, he states that popes' gifts and privileges of indulgences, because they smack of winning money, are bad gifts.<sup>36\*</sup>

Christ's serviceability to His fellow men, an outgrowth of these philosophies, should remind a minister that he should be first among his parishioners as a servant (Sermon 156).<sup>37\*</sup> He cautions prelates to remember that when they say mass, the bliss of heaven belongs to the poor as well as the rich, and that they should not despoil the poor people to make their state great (Sermon 235).<sup>38\*</sup>

The belief that the fiend is capable of producing miracles is reflected in Sermon 93 and offers Wyclif an opportunity to question the worth of saints, especially those who have purchased sainthood. He concludes that, unless the saints elicit more love for Christ, they are needless.<sup>39\*</sup>

Another tract, *De ecclesia*, which was apparently published in 1377 after Wyclif had learned of the bulls directed against him but before they were issued in England, includes not only the ideas that were expressed in earlier treatises, but develops a doctrine of predestination:

Wyclif begins by accepting the ancient division of the Church, outside of which there can be no salvation or remission of sins, into three parts, 'symbol-

<sup>30</sup> I, 390.

<sup>31</sup> I, 377.

<sup>32</sup> I, 385.

<sup>33</sup> II, 184.

<sup>34</sup> II, 370.

<sup>35</sup> II, 152.

<sup>36</sup> II, 297.

<sup>37</sup> II, 63.

<sup>38</sup> II, 211.

<sup>39</sup> I, 327.

ised, doctors say, by the three parts into which the host is broken in the eucharist', 'one triumphant in heaven', 'one militant here on earth', and the third 'asleep in purgatory' . . . . The Church Militant he defines as the whole number of the elect . . . containing 'only men that shall be saved', and who cannot cease to be such even by mortal sin, for theirs is the grace of final perseverance. . . . With Wyclif the basis of the Church is the Divine election. To be in the Church is not of necessity to be of the Church, whose groundwork must be invisible, as opposed to the visible organized community, which thus of necessity becomes of secondary importance. Not the institution on earth but the eternal decrees become the centre of the whole, and these decrees exist in the timeless present with God with Whom is neither past nor future.

So absolute is Wyclif's predestinarianism, so complete his disbelief in the power of the institution to decide a man's relation to itself, that he adds that no man, not even a pope, much less a bishop, knows whether his sin is ever forgiven, or 'wots whether he be of the Church, or whether he be a limb of the fiend', any more than he knows the day of his death or the hour of judgment. We know not, he adds, how or when God imprints the priestly character. No man therefore 'should take prelacy or cure of souls but in great dread' . . . . Nevertheless he guards this rigid doctrine from some of its dangers by adding that 'as each man shall hope that he shall be safe in bliss, so he should suppose that he be a limb of holy Church,' and even maintains, with complete abandonment of the logical basis of his creed, that 'each man that shall be damned shall be damned for his own guilt, and each man that is saved shall be saved by his own merit,' by doing 'some good that Christ hath ordained,' or by his belief in God.<sup>40</sup>

In Sermon 199, he says that a man may judge himself on earth by his keeping of God's behests, but, though the hereafter is hidden from him, he shall hope for redemption by keeping the commandments.<sup>41\*</sup>

Shortly after *De ecclesia* was written, it was followed by *De officio de regis*:

Wyclif's starting-point lay in an argument advanced by his opponents that as 'civil dominion is a perfection' it must belong to the most perfect part of the Church. Wyclif's basis of thought is the dignity of the king as derived immediately from God, and, therefore, independent of the Church. This dignity was recognized by Christ both in His words and in His deeds. 'He chose to be born where this lordship flourished most, in the empire of Rome', and did not refuse to pay tribute to the 'heathen emperor'. His adoration by the Magi, as well as His 'burial by the Military Order' in the person of Joseph of Arimathea, prove His sanction of the power of kings and knights, while His teaching and that of His Apostles and the doctors of the Church prove that the king must be preeminent in the State. The king therefore is a vicar of God as the pope is the vicar of Christ. As God's vicar he must exhibit

<sup>40</sup> Workman, *op. cit.*, II, 8 ff.

<sup>41</sup> II, 159.

divine justice in all his actions. In claiming for the king this dignity Wyclif insists that the king represents the divinity, the priest the humanity of Christ . . . . Wyclif explains . . . that the king represents the glorified, ruling Christ, or to put it in another form, the king represents the will, the priest the love of God. The real glory of the priest, whose order is more perfect because it should be more humble and saintly, is greater than that of the king.<sup>42</sup>

This development of *De civili dominio* is expressed in Sermon 228, in which Wyclif states that, because Christ paid the emperor, priests should not begrudge payment to temporalities, for God taught that Christ should obey the king.<sup>43\*</sup> The adoration theme as used in the Gospel for the Twelfth Day demonstrates Christ's lordship in spite of his poverty: this quality is now held by kings.<sup>44\*</sup> Christ showed His love for poverty by choosing a lowly manger for His birthplace (Sermon 90).<sup>45\*</sup>

Thus Wyclif ended the first stage of his criticism.

#### IV. SERMONS DATED BY SIMILARITY TO IDEAS IN TREATISES—1378-82

The election of Urban VI in 1378 was hailed by Wyclif, because he thought that the piety of the new Pope would replace the worldliness of Gregory XI. Inasmuch as the problem of his heresies was still unsolved, Wyclif wrote a letter to Urban in which he explained his position and expressed his thankfulness to God for the spirit of the new Pope:

I rejoice to open and declare unto every man the faith that I hold, and especially unto the bishop of Rome: because if as I do suppose it be sound he will most willingly confirm my said faith, or if erroneous amend the same. First I suppose that the gospel of Christ is the heart of the body of God's law . . . again I do hold the bishop of Rome, forasmuch as he is the supreme vicar of Christ here on earth, to be most bound of all pilgrims unto that law of the gospel. . . . Whereupon I do gather out of the heart of the law of the Lord that Christ for the time of his pilgrimage here was a most poor man, abjecting all worldly rule and honour . . . hereof I do gather that the pope ought to leave unto the secular power all temporal dominion and there unto effectually to exhort his whole clergy. Wherefore if I have erred in any of these points I will most humbly submit myself unto correction even by death, if necessity so demand; and if I could labour according to my will or desire in my person I would humbly present myself before the bishop of Rome; but the Lord hath otherwise visited me, and hath taught me rather to obey God than men.<sup>46</sup>

In closing the letter, Wyclif made a personal appeal:

<sup>42</sup> Workman, *op. cit.*, II, 20-1.

<sup>43</sup> II, 200.

<sup>44</sup> I, 339.

<sup>45</sup> I, 316.

<sup>46</sup> Workman, *op. cit.*, I, 310.

Since God has given to our pope just evangelical instincts we ought to pray that these be not extinguished by any crafty counsel, and that pope and cardinals be not moved to do anything contrary to the law of God. Wherefore let us pray unto our God that He will so stir up our pope Urban VI as he began that he with his clergy may follow the Lord Jesus Christ in life and manners; and that they may teach the people effectually, and that they, likewise, may faithfully follow them in the same, and let us specially pray that our pope may be preserved from all malign counsel, for we know that a man's foes are they of his household.<sup>1</sup>

His attitude toward the Antipope has been explained in Section I. Perhaps Gospel 16 also belongs to this period of papal support, for he says the Pope should be the meekest of men, but some men insist that the pontiff must reverse his ordinance and have more power.<sup>2\*</sup>

During the years from 1378 to 1382, Wyclif's concept of the Papacy was in transition. Although in the early writings he had decided that the pope was not infallible, he had never denied the value of the Roman primacy. As the Schism progressed, his objection to the institution itself became more pronounced. An intermediate statement of his attitude is expressed in *De potestate papae*, written around 1379 and translated into *De papa* early the next year. In it he specifically mentions the Schism and decides that it may be good if people will follow neither pope unless they see Christ in his life. Again the popes are accused of avarice, covetousness, and false absolution. He advocates that people should try to love the pope, and as a corollary he suggests that people should choose their own prelates and love them as love was known in Paradise. And he concludes that only those popes truly exemplifying Christ should be followed. Then the College of Cardinals is attacked on the basis that it is not authorized by Christ and can be justified only if it is composed of good and poor men. The kingdoms are given the right to inquire into the beliefs of the pope to see if they are founded on the Gospel.<sup>3</sup>

The presence of these theories in sermons may indicate that they, too, were written at this time. Workman quotes Sermon 140 as an example of Wyclif's middle idea of the pope, because the reformer asserts that the popes and cardinals are farthest from

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> I, 38.

<sup>3</sup> F. D. Matthew, *English Works of Wyclif* (Early English Text Society), pp. 460-62.



Christ.<sup>4</sup> According to Sermon 141, the pope and the cardinals should be the meekest and most serviceable of men and should not be the followers of Antichrist.<sup>5\*</sup> Men are warned to shake away from the pope's law unless it is grounded in God's law (Epistle 6).<sup>6\*</sup> Again in Sermon 119, men are urged to purge first the pope's state.<sup>7\*</sup> This last sermon may be later, for an actual cleansing is suggested.

Several other sermons show the continual transition away from the pope. The feigned fatherhood of the pope is condemned, and the true following of the charity and meekness of Christ is advocated in Epistle 46.<sup>8\*</sup>

Epistle 3 and Sermon 75 are both cited above in Section I as developing from Wyclif's opposition to Bishop Spencer's proposed crusade (1382). The first also objects to the worldly living of popes and bishops,<sup>9\*</sup> and the second advocates obedience to popes only as far as they are consistent with Christ's law and proposes that Church reform should start in Rome.<sup>10\*</sup> In the many other sermons mentioning the evil of fighting for the pope's causes not justified by Christ, men's disobedience is warranted by the pope's introduction of laws counter to Christ's. Sermon 70 also discusses the pope's law powers. Here the argument that follows the statement that popes may ordain some laws refutes this entire declaration because Christ's law is sufficient and because too many new laws may be created.<sup>11\*</sup>

Following 1379, he began to examine other tenets of Catholicism to see if they were beneficial to men. Of these, his concept of the Eucharist brought him into direct antagonism with all established clergy and the Papacy and lost for him the support of John of Gaunt.

His ideas may be studied in *Of Confession*, the free translation of *De eucharistia et penitentia*, both written about 1380. Here he introduces his idea of the Host as well as many others which may be traced in the sermons. His first chapter concerns the Sacrament of Confession, which he rules out because of the corruptness now associated with it, although it may have been useful in the past. His second contention is that the best prelates will prefer to

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<sup>4</sup> II, 27.

<sup>5</sup> II, 29.

<sup>6</sup> II, 238.

<sup>7</sup> I, 395.

<sup>8</sup> II, 354.

<sup>9</sup> II, 228.

<sup>10</sup> I, 243.

<sup>11</sup> I, 222.

preach in spite of the hindrance inflicted by the Antichrist. His third point is that true contrition does not need shrift or papal bull. The fourth issue is that the keys are symbolic of knowledge and power which include knowledge of God's law and power in teaching it and reproving wicked men. The fifth objection concerns the friars, who, instead of literally interpreting the Scripture, make fables and stories that have lessons to please them. In the sixth place, he objects to pilgrimages to Rome, which are futile because unloosing of sin can be accomplished by good teaching. And the last point of his discussion is that the power of preaching does not include the miracle of changing the Host into accidents that exist without substance.<sup>12</sup>

The reflections in the sermons of this theological development will be discussed in consecutive order with the exception of those concerning the friars and proper teaching, which will be discussed more fully in Sections VI and VII.

Confession, which had become an integral part of the accepted ritual of the Church, had been used by clergy and Papacy alike as a means of obtaining wealth. Wyclif's dislike of covetousness and worldliness is reflected in his opposition to the right of the priest to hear confession. In Sermon 231,\* he says that private confession is sometimes good, but more often harmful, because it does not have a basis in God's law and because a man's shriving to God is sufficient.<sup>13\*</sup> The recognition of some good as well as some harm in confession is also found in the tract.<sup>14</sup> Wyclif's opposition to private confession is echoed in Sermon 63,\* in which he states that confession should not be in the priest's ear; he adds that true confession is the acknowledgement of Christ's manhood and Godhood, which priests do not make; this sermon may show the idea in transition and have been written a year or so later.<sup>15\*</sup> The shriving of women in private is condemned in Sermon 209.<sup>16\*</sup> Instead of being concerned over abstract theories, the true Christian needs to question the power of the pope over the Church, the necessity of confession to priests for salvation, and the degrees that the pope has lightly ordained (Gospel 52).<sup>17\*</sup> Sermon 189

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<sup>12</sup> Matthew, *op. cit.*, pp. 327-45.

<sup>13</sup> II, 205.

<sup>14</sup> Matthew, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

<sup>15</sup> I, 194.

<sup>16</sup> II, 174.

<sup>17</sup> I, 151.

seems to be the result of the composite ideas of the early polemics, for laws, bulls, and absolution are all listed as equal blasphemy.<sup>18\*</sup>

The new development in the attitude toward the keys is repeated almost word for word in several of the sermons. The following statement is made in *Of Confession*:

Summe ben so nigh beestis, that thei undurston den bodily keyges, by whiche heuen gates shulden be openid and stokune [closed]. . . . The secounde errour in this poynt is more perelouse in the churche, for pharisees . . . seyn that thise keyes ben goostly [spiritual] wittis [knowledge] & power, given to hem to bynde & assoile [absolve] men aftur the witt approprid to hem; and herby the fend feyneth oft bi his viker antecrist many errors in the churche, & dothe myche harme to foolis.

. . . no doute to grete witt the keyes of heven ben undurston den witt & power, that prestis han to telle men the wille of god . . . . This witt that crist spekith of stondeth not in mannes lawe, ne in othur curiouse lawes, as matematik, or lawes of kynde [nature], but it stondeth in goddis lawe to holde men in mesur thereof, & to teche cristen men hou thei shulden lyue to god & man, & come to heuen.<sup>19</sup>

In Sermon 74 the meaning of the keys is stated thus:

[The pope] feyneth that thes keies ben poweris, both upon clerkis and eke upon seculers;—power of jurisdiction, and power to assoile and bynde. . . . And thus trewe men seien here, that ther ben two keies: the firste is keie of cunnyng, and the tother keie of power . . . . This cunnyng was not speculatif, of gemetrie, ne other sciencis, but practik, put in dede, how men shulde lyve by Goddis lawe. . . . For God wole geve cunnyng to teche his weie to hevene to whom ever him likith.<sup>20\*</sup>

Again, in Sermon 100 he comments:

Thes two keies ben sothli seid witt and power, to teche men the weie to hevene, and to opene hem the gatis. And thes keies hadde Petre with many other seintis, for alle men that comen to hevene have thes keies of God. And so we schal not undirstonde that thes ben keies of metal, that oonli Petre berith, to opene gatis to men; but thei ben lore and power, that men have goostli [spiritually] of God.<sup>21\*</sup>

Another sermon closely correlating with *Of Confession*<sup>22</sup> is Gospel 14.<sup>23\*</sup> In both, reference is made to the healing of the ten lepers after other priests could not absolve them; in both, the comparison occurs that absolution may be bought and sold like an ox or cow.

Only in one sermon, Gospel 31, is reference made to the

<sup>18</sup> II, 144.

<sup>19</sup> Matthew, *op. cit.*, pp. 341-42. See the instruction after the citation above in Section II, p. 70, n. 2.

<sup>20</sup> I, 241.

<sup>21</sup> I, 349.

<sup>22</sup> Matthew, *op. cit.*, pp. 343, 334.

<sup>23</sup> I, 34.

needlessness of a journey to Rome for forgiveness of sin if a man have true sorrow for his sin.<sup>24\*</sup>

Because of the heretical aspect of the Eucharist discussion, some other documents and events must be considered in connection with it. Workman presents the following argument for dating the beginning of the controversy:

Matthew, in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* v. 328-30, dated as in the summer of 1380. In *Ziz.* 104 it is given as 'in the summer of 1381'. . . . But this is too late, for the reasons stated below, and because in *Chron. Ang.* 311 the murder by the peasants of Sudbury on 14 June 1381 is attributed to his neglect of the false doctrines Wyclif was spreading *re* the Eucharist. Evidently they had been spread for some time or else, as Matthew points out, the retribution was "swift, not to say hasty". In reality I take *Ziz.* 104-6 to refer not to Wyclif's first promulgation of his doubts, as Lechler, 368, but to the condemnation by the Oxford doctors of doctrines drawn from Wyclif's writings by one of their number and already preached for some time. If these had been twelve theses of challenge by Wyclif, as Lechler supposes, the reply of the doctors would have been in similar form. . . . The controversy had not been raised in 1378, for it is not mentioned in *de Ecclesia*. I am inclined to date as early in 1379. In this year the *de Pot. Pap.* was published and in *ib.* 105 Wyclif distinctly lays down his views. Cf. also *Serm.* iv. 499, where Wyclif contrasts the Urbanites and Robertines, and sums up in favour of the Urbanites as preaching the true view of the Eucharist and resting on the Gospel. The Robertines, he added, who pleaded accident without subject should be suppressed. This sermon must have been written early in Urban's career, and before the confiscation by Richard of the possessions of the Robertine cardinals. . . . I may add that the earlier the date the more easy is it to fit in Wyclif's later works without throwing too great a strain on his last years.<sup>25</sup>

By the early spring of 1380, an orthodox group consisting mostly of monks and friars was formed by Berton, a Doctor of Divinity strongly opposed to Wyclif's position. Later that year or early the next, they issued a condemnation which proclaimed the doctrine of Remanence and the statement, 'execrable even to listen to', that Christ is only present in the Eucharist 'figuratively or tropically, not truly in His own proper corporal person'. They committed themselves to the doctrine of Duns that 'only the appearance' of the bread and wine remain. This view, they said, 'must be believed, taught and manfully defended against all gainsayers.' As for the views of Wyclif they forbade 'that any one should publicly hold, teach, or defend the same in this University, either in the schools or outside, under pain of imprisonment, suspension from all scholastic functions and the greater excommunication' . . . .

<sup>24</sup> I, 80.

<sup>25</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 408-09.

This condemnation would have no legislative force and could only be an administrative act of the chancellor.<sup>26</sup>

An early *Confessio* was published in answer, but it is, according to Workman, the last attempt to keep the discussion of the Eucharist within scholastic bounds. Wyclif left Oxford at this time and retired to Lutterworth, where his heresies were repeated. In his English *Complaint*, published soon after, he concludes with a statement of his belief that the bread and wine had properties both of bread and wine and of Christ's body and blood: the sacred Host results from a coexistence of both and is not an accident without substance.<sup>27</sup>

One sermon (Epistle 47) on the Eucharist may have been written early in 1379 for two reasons: (1) the reference to Christ's body in the form of bread and (2) the statement that one new sect (the friars) say the contrary and in so doing slander the Pope (whom Wyclif still thought to be in agreement with his interpretation).<sup>28\*</sup> Gospel 8 may also be of the same date, for an allusion is made to the friars' "false" teaching of the doctrine of the Host.<sup>29\*</sup> The conjecture may be made that Wyclif still assumes Urban's agreement.

This heresy was further condemned at the Blackfriars Synod, which met in 1382 and to which Wyclif responded in his *Confessio*:

I bileve, as Crist and his apostels have taught us, that tho [the] sacrament of tho auter [altar], whyte and rounde, and like to other bred, or oost [host] sacred, is verrey Gods body in fourme of bred; and thof hit be broken in thre partyes, as tho Kirke uses, or ellis in a thousande, evere ilk one of these parties is tho same Gods body. And right as tho persoun of Crist is verrey God and mon—verrey godhed and verrey monhed—right so holy Kirke, mony hundred winters, haves trowed [has believed] tho same sacrament is verrey Gods body and verrey bred, as hit is fourme of Gods body and fourme of bred, as teches Crist, and his apostels. . . . And right as hit is heresy to trowe that Crist is a spyrte and no body, so hit is heresy to trowe that this sacrament is Gods body and no bred; for hit is bothe togedir.

Bot tho moste heresy that God suffred cum to His Chirche, is to trowe that this sacrament is accydent withouten subgett [substance]; and may on no wyse be Gods body. . . . Ow! how gret diversyte' is bytwene us that trowen that this sacrament is verrey bred in his kinde, and bytwene heretikes that tellen that hit is an accydent withouten sugett! For bfore that tho fende, fadir of leesynge [lies], was loused, was nevere

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 145.

<sup>27</sup> III, 501-03 (here headed "Concerning the Eucharist," No. 2).

<sup>28</sup> II, 356.

<sup>29</sup> I, 19.

this gabbynge [prating] contrived [contrived]. . . . For I dar surely sey, that if this were sothe [truth], Crist and His seyntis dyed heretikes, and tho more partye of holy Kirke byleved nowe heresy. And herfore [therefore] devoute men supposen that this counseil of freris at Londoun was with erthe dyn [earthquake] for thei putt an heresy upon Crist and seyntis in Heven.

He concludes that he and other clergy in agreement with him will defend their belief at the pain of losing their lives.<sup>30</sup>

But while apparently affirming the orthodox point of view, he never gave up his own belief of the bread. Most of the sermons on the Eucharist controversy seem to be partially a justification of his position plus an attack on his opponents; therefore the assumption may be made that they were written after the condemnation at Oxford (1380) or the one at Blackfriars (1382). Sermon 167 probably was written close to the time of Bishop Spencer's Crusade (1382), inasmuch as the wrongness of slaying one's brother bodily and taking vengeance upon one's enemy seems to reflect the tone of other sermons of the period. Of the Host he states that Ambrose, in saying that the Host is not bread after it is made sacred, meant that it is not principally bread but the body of Christ by virtue of His words; and, if the worldly clergy understood the theologian correctly, they would be ashamed of their feigned accidents in which only the appearance of the bread and wine, not actual bread and wine, remains after the consecration has made the elements into Christ's body and blood.<sup>31\*</sup> (Other vindictive sermons on the war do not include any allusions to this issue.)

Bread in the Host is true bread made of wheat, but it is also God's body; consequently, when eaten, the real bread becomes a physical part of man, whereas the spiritual bread or body draws the man to itself. In teaching contrary, men are heretics who despise God's law (Sermon 163).<sup>32\*</sup> The same concept that Christ's body cannot actually be eaten unless men conceive of themselves as beasts is mentioned in Sermon 177; however, the statement that the salvation of man is the result of belief and good works as mentioned in the next paragraph after the Eucharist discussion may suggest a later date still, inasmuch as this seems to be one of the theories expounded in the last year or so.<sup>33\*</sup> The author

<sup>30</sup> Winn, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-88.

<sup>31</sup> II, 91.

<sup>32</sup> II, 80.

<sup>33</sup> II, 110.

contends that if heretics in the matter of the sacred Host could understand the subtlety of some Scripture in which double symbolism occurs, they would recognize the same symbolism in the presence of both bread and Christ's body in the sacrament (Epistle 13).<sup>34\*</sup> Because mice eating the Host do not actually eat Christ's body, men do not actually eat it except as the partaking signifies the belief in and the love of God: those who insist that they do eat Christ's body are, by Wyclif's statement, rude heretics (Sermon 206).<sup>35\*</sup> A more vehement note is seen in Epistle 17, in which Wyclif declares:

Thanne men shulden heere Goddis word gladly, and dispise fablis, and erre not in this sacrid oost [host], but graunte that it is two thingis, bothe breed and Goddis body, but principaly Goddis bodi. And certis he that dispisith the prechoure whan he prechith Goddis wordis, dispisith bothe God and man, but moost to charge the Godhede. And thus men that dispisith this lore of this holy sacrament, dispisen God and seien that he is fals; and this is a foul blasfemye.<sup>36\*</sup>

The passage just quoted suggests that the sermon to which it belongs came after one of the indictments. Still another approach is used in Sermon 104, in which the reformer cries out, "Lord, whi witen [know] not thes foolis that ther accidentis maken men drunken whanne thei taken hem above [without] resoun . . .?"<sup>37\*</sup> In Gospel 44 an allusion is made to the Eucharist which seems rather vague and may be early in 1382, for men are also advised to flee from bodily fighting without a high cause:

And on this manere semeth Ambrose to graunten that the sacred breed is not after [thereafter] breed but Goddis body, for it is not after principaly breed but Goddis bodi, in maner as Austin seith.<sup>38\*</sup>

From Lutterworth came two English treatises which seemed to explain to the government and the people of the land the reasons for his heresies which had been condemned at Oxford. The first was a *Petition to King and Parliament*:

In this petition Wyclif avoided theological questions, also questions which lay strictly within the competence of the courts spiritual, and dealt only with those matters which were the concern of Parliament. England, he claimed, should obey no prelate, unless such obedience agreed with Christ's law. Money should not be sent to Rome unless it can be proved

<sup>34</sup> II, 257.

<sup>35</sup> II, 169.

<sup>36</sup> II, 274.

<sup>37</sup> I, 361.

<sup>38</sup> I, 125.

from Scripture to be due. The third point—that no man, 'whether cardinal or other' should enjoy any benefice in England unless resident and employed legitimately—is a plea for the effective carrying out of the Statutes of Provisors. His fourth demand was intended to appeal to the Commons. He claimed that the commonwealth 'should not be burdened with new tallages' until the endowments of the clergy had been exhausted. Once more he emphasized the duty of the king to confiscate the temporalities of any bishop 'living notoriously in contempt of God'. As a further petition he insisted that the king should employ neither 'bishop nor curate' in secular business. Wyclif concluded with the demand that no one should be imprisoned because excommunicated unless it be proved that the sentence is according to God's law.<sup>39\*</sup>

An English *Complaint*, which was not completed, followed the Petition. This is an indictment against the orders which depart from Christ's way. Men should be given the right to leave these groups, and the popes should destroy all except Christ's sect. The king is acknowledged as the authority over temporalities, both those belonging to the laity and the clergy; therefore the king has the power to take away these temporalities from evil prelates. Alms should be given only to worthy recipients. He concludes with his established theory of the Eucharist.<sup>40</sup>

A Latin work, *De blasphemia*, was written during the same period as these in early 1382. Here again the orders are denounced as capable of declaring even Christ a heretic if He returned to earth. The pope, cardinals, the episcopacy, and the archdeacons receive their criticism as well. Parish priests are warned of wolves in the form of rural deans imposing false or unjust fines. Vehement attacks are also directed against those who collect indulgences and send great sums from the realm.<sup>41</sup>

Evidence of these attitudes is noted in Epistle 9, in which cardinals are chastised for their feigning and in which people are advised to give alms only to proper teachers.<sup>42\*</sup> In Sermon 120, an echo of *De blasphemia* is heard in the words that Christ would have been a heretic by modern standards.<sup>43\*</sup> Pseudo-clerics who falsely claim their power of pardons are compared to wolves in Sermon 64.<sup>44\*</sup> The pope's state had previously required purging,

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<sup>39</sup> Workman, *op. cit.*, II, 250-51.

<sup>40</sup> III, 507-23.

<sup>41</sup> Workman, *op. cit.*, II, 249-50.

<sup>42</sup> II, 246.

<sup>43</sup> I, 397.

<sup>44</sup> I, 197.



but in Gospel 10 he suggests that the overcoming of the rot of the Church requires a purging of priests and clergy as well.<sup>45\*</sup> Perhaps this too is an outgrowth of concepts developed during this period.

#### V. SERMONS DATED BY SIMILARITY TO IDEAS IN TREATISES—1383-84

In 1382, Courtenay, now Archbishop, brought together a council consisting mostly of friars to crush Wyclif. Known as the "Earthquake Council," because of the quake which occurred during its session and almost disrupted it, this group listed ten conclusions as heretical and fourteen as erroneous and contrary to the decision of the Church. The ones which have a bearing on the dating of English sermons are as follows:

##### I. Conclusions deemed 'heretical':

1. That the substance of material bread and wine doth remain in the sacrament of the altar after consecration.
2. That the 'accidents' do not remain without the 'subject' in the same sacrament after consecration.
3. That Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar identically, truly, and really in His proper corporeal person.
5. That if a man be duly contrite, all outer confession is for him superfluous and invalid.
9. That after Urban VI none other is to be received for pope, but Christendom ought to live after the manner of the Greeks under its own laws.
10. The assertion that it is contrary to Holy Scripture that ecclesiastical persons should have temporal possessions.

##### II. Conclusions regarded as 'erroneous and against the decision of the Church':

11. That no prelate ought to excommunicate any man except he first know him to be excommunicated by God.
12. That he who doth so excommunicate is thereby himself a heretic or excommunicated.
15. The assertion that it is lawful for any deacon or presbyter to preach the word of God without the authority of the Apostolic See, or of a Catholic bishop, or of other recognized authority. . .
17. That temporal lords may at will withdraw their temporal goods from ecclesiastics habitually delinquent; or that the commonalty . . . may at will correct delinquent lords. . . .
18. That tithes are pure alms, and that parishioners may, on account of the sins of their curates, detain them and bestow them on others at pleasure.
20. Moreover, in that any man doth enter into any private religion

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<sup>45</sup> I, 24.

whatsoever, he is thereby made more unapt and unable to observe the commandments of God.

21. That holy men who have instituted any private religions whatsoever, both possessioners and mendicants, in so instituting did err.
22. That the religious living in private religions are not of the Christian faith.
23. That friars are bound to obtain their living by the labour of their hands, and not by begging.
24. That whosoever doth give any alms unto friars, or to any friar that preacheth, is excommunicate; as also is he that taketh.<sup>1</sup>

The Gospel on the Feast of Many Martyrs seems to refer to this council, inasmuch as in it earthquakes are said to be big winds enclosed in the earth and able to destroy it and prelates are said to be comparable. The entire homily is a vigorous attack on the present perils of the Church for which the new sects, the prelates, and popes are responsible.<sup>2\*</sup>

The conclusion of this Synod and the events surrounding Bishop Spencer's Crusade fanned Wyclif's polemics into tirades issued at white heat. His answer to the Eucharist Condemnation and his specific references to the Crusade have already been discussed. From this time until his death, in spite of rheumatism and partial paralysis, his days were occupied with the collection of both his Latin and English sermons as well as the preparation of homilies and tracts representing his final attitudes toward the Church.

The most important English treatise of this last period is *The Church and Her Members* (1384). His main contentions are as follows: (1) the pope cannot tell any more than others if he is a member of Christ's church on earth; (2) when the Church's history is traced, the progressive corruption of the Church is noted and makes Poor Priests declare that the pope is Antichrist, and that Christ is the only true head of the Church; (3) the concepts of infallibility, canonization, and the pope's blessedness are heresies; (4) the new orders and worldly priests who take tithes falsely and who have been sponsored by arrogant popes rather than founded on God's law are a flock of the fiend's children; (5) the friars' errors, which the pope sustains, include taking of small children, false begging, letters of fraternity, and evil preaching of

<sup>1</sup> Workman, *op. cit.*, II, 416-17.

<sup>2</sup> I, 218.

fighting as in the late voyage to Flanders; (6) the friars, who are divided between the two popes, should be exposed on the basis of their false teaching of the Eucharist and their claim that their orders were founded by someone other than Christ; (7) popes err in their extravagant claims of powers of absolution and binding and loosing and their false assumption of special power from God which could not be given to them if men chose them; (8) the pope's system of distribution of benefices is wrong and his sanction of private confession is evil; (9) the declaration is made that popes, clergy, and new orders should completely reject worldliness, false rites and distinctive habits, and return to the poverty of Christ and to his system of preaching charity and his acceptance of alms freely given; (10) those evils of false suspension and interdict are not harmful, and God shall overcome the powerful pope's party so that those sects and new laws that do not exemplify God's pure love should be abandoned in favor of a true following of love and high virtue that Christ sponsored.<sup>3</sup> This seems to be a summation of his theories, most of which have previously been discussed.

In the consideration of these attitudes in relation to the dating of the sermons, those thought to have been written in 1382-84 as discussed above in Section II will be considered first. In Sermon 146, which urges men not to fight for the pope, Wyclif also states that because the Kingdom of God is within and results from the following of Christ's law and loving Him, the maintenance of ceremonies, the adherence to new laws, and hypocrisy will only result in a departure from heaven.<sup>4\*</sup> Three definite theories are observable in these sermons: (1) practicing of love of God, which was the last point in *The Church and Her Members*, the striving for earthly peace and unity, and the capability of each man to come to eternal bliss. Epistle 35 begs the people to pray that the world will all be of one will to eliminate the dissension in the support of the rival popes and in the interpretation of the sacred Host; men should seek peace between God and self.<sup>5\*</sup> Whereas popes fight each other, Christ taught unity, peace, and patience (Epistle 44).<sup>6</sup> The preaching of strife by the friars is opposed to the peace

<sup>3</sup> III, 338.

<sup>4</sup> II, 40. See also above, Section II, p. 70, the second and third sentences of the last paragraph.

<sup>5</sup> II, 325.

<sup>6</sup> II, 353.

God sponsored (Sermon 203).<sup>7</sup> Man should not fight without cause, and if he stands in truth and virtue, the world cannot overcome him (Sermon 109).<sup>8</sup>

Epistle 10 not only refers to the need of charitableness on the part of Christians, instead of giving of evil for evil, but may also include a reference to the attempt on the part of the friars to have Gregory's citation renewed, because Wyclif concludes the homily by stating that the popes and cardinals are not charitable, inasmuch as they send to put men to death for maintaining God's love.<sup>9\*</sup> Workman describes this incident as follows:

Gregory's citation of Wyclif to Rome still hung over his head as a possible weapon for his adversaries. There are grounds for believing that the friars in their anger at Wyclif's attacks, despairing also of effective help from Courtenay, appealed to Urban to renew the citation. Urban, probably, was too busy with his own affairs to reply, but the rumour of the friars' intentions drew from Wyclif a bitter attack. In a tract entitled *de Citationibus Frivolis*, Wyclif in the autumn of 1383 dealt with the whole subject of papal citations. He contests their legality; they are derived neither from God nor from temporal lords, but from Satan alone. . . . They are part of the system of government of the Church by the judicial notions of the Canon Law, accompanied by the constant interference of the pope in secular matters, rather than government in accordance with the rules of the Gospel. . . . Forward then, soldiers of Christ, against this Antichrist who claims to be supreme lord of all your actions, goods, and lives! . . . To clinch matters Wyclif, or one of his followers, republished in an English translation his former letter to Urban VI with some striking alterations. The sentences expressing confidence in Urban are omitted, and the whole letter thus becomes a keenly ironical statement of his attitude to the papacy. The letter ends with a new paragraph: 'And I suppose of our pope that he will not be Antichrist and reverse Christ in this working to the contrary of Christ's will. If he summons against reason by him or any of his and pursue this unskilful summoning he is an open Antichrist. And merciful intent excused not Peter that Christ cleped (called) him Satan. So blind intent and evil counsel excuses not the pope here, but if he ask of true priests that they travel more than they may tis not excused by reason of God that he is Antichrist.'<sup>10</sup>

Other ramifications of these final doctrines are also presented. In Epistle 33, the reformer asserts that, inasmuch as men labor to be confirmed by the pope in high state or benefice, how much more should they aspire to God's confirmation by living a contin-

<sup>7</sup> II, 165.

<sup>8</sup> I, 370.

<sup>9</sup> II, 249.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 314-15.

uously virtuous and clean life.<sup>11\*</sup> Not only does Sermon 79 include references to Bishop Spencer and salvation by departure from sin, but also stresses the kings' and princes' duty of keeping Christ's church, and also the need for only a few sacraments in the Church.<sup>12\*</sup>

The method of the choosing of the popes is wrong, because the choosers are not meek men, but worldly ones; this statement seems to place Sermon 101 as a late treatment of the necessity for the elimination of the intricate hierarchy of the Church.<sup>13\*</sup> Workman quotes from Epistle 20 to illustrate Wyclif's final attitude toward the pope in the statement that "unless Christ confirmed the dignities and privileges of the pope, they are not worth a fly's foot."<sup>14</sup> Again, in Sermon 212 Wyclif denies the right of the pope to be called Most Blessed Father.<sup>15\*</sup> A late statement on binding and loosing is to be found in Gospel 47 in the declaration that if both popes bind and loose, people will not know which is the truthful one or the one who follows God's law.<sup>16\*</sup> The infallibility of the pope is a heresy, according to Sermon 87. Here also is mentioned the poor method of choosing of priests by prelates and the choice of illiterate or incompetent men by the popes for money or for prince's wishes.<sup>17\*</sup>

These doctrines came in the last few years. On December 31, 1384, Wyclif died as the result of severe paralysis.

## VI. SERMONS DATED BY ATTITUDES TOWARD MONKS AND FRIARS

So far, extensive comments on the monks and friars have been avoided, because these orders were the subject of especially virulent attack; moreover, Wyclif's attitude toward the friars passed through a transition worthy of observation.

As Workman<sup>1</sup> and Talbert<sup>2</sup> have pointed out, he was at first opposed to the monks alone, and not to the friars. His primary objections seem to have been to the monks' withdrawal from the

<sup>11</sup> II, 321.

<sup>12</sup> I, 261.

<sup>13</sup> I, 350.

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 80.

<sup>15</sup> II, 179.

<sup>16</sup> I, 134.

<sup>17</sup> I, 301.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 89-92.

<sup>2</sup> William Ernest Talbert, "A Lollard Chronicle of the Papacy," *Journal of English and German Philology*, XL (1942), 163-93.

world and to their establishment of new rules that are not sanctioned by Christ. Accordingly, the following hitherto undated sermons can probably be assigned to 1375-78. Epistle 27 apparently refers only to the monks, because the author says orders spend time in vain prayer and in vain learning of their own rules, so that they forsake God's law to occupy themselves in this teaching and to sing without the book as if this were most pleasing to God.<sup>3\*</sup> In the same homily, they are accused of sustaining their cloisters by goods they covet. Comments in Gospel 32 concerning the abandonment of world affairs by prelates seem to indicate that this one, too, was written in the period of 1375-76.<sup>4\*</sup> Here Wyclif contends that obedience to Christ is preferable to that imposed by monastic orders which require, in part, "the wearing of certain habits." The clothing of Christ symbolized the virtuous life He led, whereas habits symbolize the unstableness of the orders (153).<sup>5\*</sup> The problems of attire and desire for food are also mentioned in Gospel 15 as wrongly occupying sinful religious men's thoughts.<sup>6\*</sup> The men entering new religions not founded by Christ are tempted by the fiend, who offers other inducements of pride and gluttony (Gospel 40).<sup>7\*</sup> According to Sermon 191, other ceremonies in the monasteries, such as fasting, should not stop the teaching of God's Word.<sup>8\*</sup> New orders which withdraw from men's sight impair God's order and are as worthy of criticism and as damnable as the sins of lechery and covetousness (Sermon 121).<sup>9\*</sup> If a man is hidden in a cloister, what aid is he to his brother (Sermon 81)?<sup>10\*</sup> Sermon 68, which incorporates the usual comments on worldliness, condemns the midnight prayers of monks as innovations of the fiend and comparable to the actions of thieves who work at night.<sup>11</sup> Those who insist that they are following the example of Christ by their departure from the ways of the world misunderstand Christ, who meant that men should leave worldly goods, not the world (Sermon 62).<sup>12\*</sup>

Some friars are actually praised in Gospel 50, because they have enough knowledge to live in the world and to hold themselves apart from "the castle of the fiend," which is the name

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<sup>3</sup> II, 299.

<sup>4</sup> I, 83.

<sup>5</sup> II, 57.

<sup>6</sup> I, 36.

<sup>7</sup> I, 109.

<sup>8</sup> II, 146.

<sup>9</sup> I, 398.

<sup>10</sup> I, 271.

<sup>11</sup> I, 214.

<sup>12</sup> I, 189.

given to the cloister behind which other men huddle.<sup>13\*</sup> Occasionally Wyclif mixes his terms and seems to call monks friars. In Gospel 26, the allusion appears to be to the monks, for a comparison is made to Christ's calling Jerusalem a walled city against the Holy Church and to the walls behind which certain religious men follow their "stinking" orders.<sup>14\*</sup>

By 1379, Wyclif's attitude toward the friars was no longer favorable. One of the first accusations (Sermon 85) directed against many, not all, of them attacks their lustful living. In the same homily, the monks are criticized for devotion to their bellies and for midnight prayers; and the monks, cardinals, and bishops are accused of desiring worldly lordship.<sup>15\*</sup> Inasmuch as Gregory XI, who died in March, 1378, was continually censured for covetousness and worldly power, this probably can be dated late in 1377 or early in 1378.

If Gospel 16 was written early in Urban's career, as conjectured above in Section IV, it probably includes one of the early criticisms of the friars as a whole. Wyclif bemoans the transition of the monks from their early integrity to idleness; he also regrets that friars, who did not have houses or money, now have turned to hypocrisy.<sup>16\*</sup> This hypocrisy presumably refers to their disagreement with Wyclif on the interpretation of the Host. As pointed out above in Section IV, Gospel 8 probably belongs to 1379-82 because of its treatment of this subject; in it objections to the friars are extended to include their begging, the letters of brotherhood, and worldly living.<sup>17\*</sup> The treatise *Of Confession*, written in 1380, criticizes their false interpretation of the Scripture. These indictments were charged against the friars, then, even before their scandalous action in the preaching of the Crusade in 1382 brought severe chastisement; therefore the sermons which seem to be concerned with these aspects alone without specific references to date them as later were probably penned in the period between 1379 and 1382. The following comments on the telling of fables occur without additional abuse in three sermons: Fables may be idle words for which men will be held accountable

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<sup>13</sup> I, 144.

<sup>14</sup> I, 65.

<sup>15</sup> I, 289.

<sup>16</sup> I, 38.

<sup>17</sup> I, 19.

on Doomsday (Sermon 182).<sup>18\*</sup> Christ did not teach in fables (Sermon 64).<sup>19\*</sup> Friars err in their interpretation of the Word (Sermon 59).<sup>20\*</sup> In Sermon 58 the friars are not only accused of preaching fables and heresies, but also censured for being unlike Peter, who lived and ate simply.<sup>21\*</sup> Friars say they must beg because they are poor; but because they are not profitable to the Church, as the Apostles were, their begging symbolizes gluttony (Sermon 88).<sup>22\*</sup> Friars sell their preaching rather than live on tithes and offerings as they should (Sermon 83).<sup>23\*</sup> The friars' insistence on their following of Christ's example in their begging brings severe chastisement from Wyclif, as in Gospel 23, in which he states that they beg not for the worship of Christ, whom they profess to follow, but for their own advantage.<sup>24\*</sup> The reformer asserts that more blessing comes from keeping God's Word than in letters of fraternity issued by friars (Sermon 113).<sup>25\*</sup> Two questions—the blasphemy of friars in their statement that Christ begged, and the blinding of men's eyes from holiness by habits and cloisters—are treated in Epistle 14.<sup>26\*</sup>

Christ's sending of His disciples to buy meat in Samaria should prove to the friars that they should not beg, but give to the people the Gospel and the truth of God (Sermon 164).<sup>27\*</sup>

Friars, as confessors of the rich, are reproved in Sermon 162 for leading the wealthy astray; and in the same homily, rites are said to be in vain.<sup>28\*</sup> Objections to privy absolution by friars are mentioned again in Sermon 214.<sup>29</sup> On the statement in Sermon 192 which says that gifts of God are not measured by man, although simoners measure their grace and give plenary absolution and more "suffragies" for more money, Arnold states:

The indulgences of which the friars had the distribution carried with them the plenary or partial absolution of sin, so far as the temporal punishment due to it was concerned, to the persons obtaining them. But the same indulgences might also be applied *per modum suffragii*. 'Suffragium' . . . is the spiritual aid which one believer affords to another for the sake of obtaining from God a remission of the temporal punishment due to sin. It was in this form that indulgences were applied for the benefit of the dead.<sup>30\*</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> II, 133.

<sup>19</sup> I, 197.

<sup>20</sup> I, 179.

<sup>21</sup> I, 175.

<sup>22</sup> I, 306.

<sup>23</sup> I, 280.

<sup>24</sup> I, 56.

<sup>25</sup> I, 379.

<sup>26</sup> II, 260.

<sup>27</sup> II, 83.

<sup>28</sup> II, 78.

<sup>29</sup> II, 182.

<sup>30</sup> II, 148-49, n. a.



This homily, then, may be an outgrowth of Wyclif's objections to false begging.

In 1382 in the *English Complaint*, Wyclif censured all orders which left Christ's way, and he demanded that all who recognized their sin be permitted to leave the sects and that the pope should destroy all but Christ's sect. Gospel 11, which seems to be an outgrowth of this attitude and can be dated in this year, contends that the only rule for a sect is Christ's; new sects and orders, therefore, should be distrusted, as they smack of many sins.<sup>31\*</sup> In *De blasphemia*, written the same year, he objects to the collection of indulgences and sending them from the realm.

Wyclif states in *The Church and Her Members*, written early in 1384, that the friars' errors include the taking of small children, false begging, letters of fraternity, and evil preaching. The new orders are told to reject worldliness, false rites, and distinctive habits, and to return to the poverty and law of Christ. The inclusion of these censures plus comments similar to other aspects of the final doctrines would seem to indicate that a number of sermons were written in 1383-84. In Gospel 24, reference is made to indulgences and letters of brotherhood, which will not assure entrance to heaven, for only God's grace gives that.<sup>32\*</sup> The binding of young children to orders is denounced in Sermon 86, as are the private patrons of friars, who should follow Christ. Here, too, Wyclif bemoans the fact that men leave Christ freely to serve the fiend's law sponsored by popes and kings.<sup>33\*</sup> The cleansing of the new orders necessitates the abandonment of new customs and the choice of Christ's law and virtuous life.<sup>34\*</sup> The reformer advocates in Epistle 2 that Christians pray for the dissolution of these sects which love their own brethren more than others, preach for money, and are envious. An interesting development on the discussion of habits is evidenced in his criticism of friars who dress in rags, an attire that defouls the worthy followers of Christ.<sup>35\*</sup>

Some references are so indefinite that they cannot be assigned to any one presentation of ideas. A particularly vehement sermon is Epistle 15, which concludes that, if England were free of the

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<sup>31</sup> I, 27.

<sup>32</sup> I, 59.

<sup>33</sup> I, 295.

<sup>34</sup> II, 286 (Epistle 22).

<sup>35</sup> II, 225.

orders, many hundred thousand marks which she now spends on them could be saved or spent for real charity and the bringing forth of real men of bliss.<sup>36\*</sup> Although this seems to show a similarity to the conclusions of *De blasphemia*, in which the sending of money from the realm is opposed, the stress on the vainness of preaching without charity, the need for the fulfillment of God's law, and the desire to see God's truth prevail seems to require a date in late 1383 or 1384. A confusing statement is made in Epistle 39, which again takes Christ's temptations as a basis for listing the evils of the fiend: covetousness, lust, fornication, and murmurings against God's law which have produced new rules. Men are advised to leave these rules and fables, because the end of the world is near and the fiend tempts more subtly at this time.<sup>37\*</sup> Perhaps it was written shortly after the first accusations of the friars, when the criticism of the monastic orders was uppermost. Another sermon accuses the friars of lust in counseling with women to gain their ends with lords (Sermon 116).<sup>38\*</sup> Perhaps he means private confession; it, however, can be dated post-1379. The same indefinite placement applies to Sermon 238, in which friars are condemned for their acceptance of money for huge sepulchers.<sup>39\*</sup>

Gospel 18 contains ideas which seem to correlate with those of the last period. Here he asserts:

Generaly thes newe sectis loven more ther owen ordre than thei done the ordre of Crist. . . . This sect of Crist by that is lasse that thei putten in thes newe sectis; sith thei, kepinge Cristis secte, bi that maken his sect more; and it is oon to love a thing and to willen that thing good; but thei wolden that al this world were suget unto ther sect. And, Lord! if that men wolden undirstonden, what it is to love a thing; and whanne men loven, loven ther god over al othir thingis; thanne heresie of thes newe sectis, and othir errours in the worlde shulden be more knowen unto folk than thei ben now for ypocrisie. Thes ypocritis seien that ther sectis and al the deedis that thei done is groundid upon Crist, and is Cristis religioun; and so thei have none newe ordris, but new customes, that thei may leve.

The text tells that Christ destroyed the sects of His day and taught the commandment of love of God.<sup>40\*</sup>

<sup>36</sup> II, 265.

<sup>37</sup> II, 333.

<sup>38</sup> I, 387.

<sup>39</sup> II, 214.

<sup>40</sup> I, 45-46.

Workman places Gospel 29 after the break with the friars, because of the ridicule of both Dominicans and Franciscans, whom Wyclif had previously upheld.<sup>41</sup>

Prechours [Dominicans] seyn that Crist hadde highe shone [shoes] as thei have; ffor ellis wolde not [John the] Baptist mene that Crist hadde thuongis of siche schone. Menours [Franciscans] seyn that Crist wente barfote, or ellis was shood as thei ben, for ellis Magdalene shulde not have founde to thus have washid Cristis feet.<sup>42</sup>

Wyclif concludes that undoubtedly Christ paid little heed to such matters, but he was concerned that his disciples should leave worldly goods.<sup>43</sup>

#### VII. SERMONS DATED BY ORGANIZATION OF POOR PRIESTS AND BY INTEREST IN BIBLE TRANSLATION

Wyclif was not satisfied with heated polemics directed against worldly clergy; nor was his own preaching sufficient. Early in his career as a critic, he sent forth Poor Priests, known also as Lollards, filled with a zeal for spreading God's true teaching and armed with a few portions of Scripture in English.

Talbert argues for an early date for this beginning, because the Lollard Thorp at his trial testified that the Poor Priests had started as early as 1376 and 1377 and because Sudbury's imposition of silence had been inflicted upon Wyclif and his followers in 1377. The treatise *Of Dominion* (1376) questioned the merit of saint worship; Sermon 93 seems to echo this issue and concludes that the best clerics are the Poor Priests.<sup>1\*</sup> This reference also suggests an early organization. Thus "as early as 1377, then, the Poor Priests were probably preaching a gospel doctrine that smacked of heresy and preaching sometimes without a license after an imposition of silence."<sup>2</sup> Some of the sermons seem to belong definitely to 1375-78. Sermon 186 includes the comment that some clerics would have men leave the way of heathen men, but Christ wanted His Church to be spread throughout the world.<sup>3\*</sup> Such ideas seem comparable to those relating to the objections to monasteries. In Epistle 27, which has definite references to cloisters and vain

<sup>41</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 102.

<sup>42</sup> I, 76.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1</sup> I, 327.

<sup>2</sup> Talbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 464-74, esp. p. 467.

<sup>3</sup> II, 140.

prayers, Wyclif states that the Apostles were taught by the Holy Ghost to wander in the world and teach.<sup>4\*</sup> Because of the similarity in content, Gospel 39 may also be early; for here the author avers that many do not come with Jesus in their teaching but say they are better than He and hold to a life they have founded. Furthermore, they call followers of Christ hypocrites and make them cease speaking of Him.<sup>5\*</sup> Perhaps Sudbury's early silencing is meant here. The pope and his followers are accused of selling (probably simony and absolution) in Sermon 149; and in the same homily, Poor Priests are said to be hindered.<sup>6\*</sup> The reference to the pope may indicate Gregory XI at a time when only one pope existed, for, by the time Wyclif lost faith in Urban, there were two popes, both being censured for departure from Christ's way. Another mention of the hindrance of the preaching of Poor Priests, who are hated by wealthy and worldly men because the latter resent Christ's poverty, is made in Sermon 57.<sup>7\*</sup>

By 1380, when *Of Confession* was issued, Wyclif had concluded that the best prelates would prefer to preach. Because some sermons emphasize this as well as the ideal of poverty, they may have been written between late 1378 and early 1380. In Sermon 137, Christ is said to have taught his prelates not to be idle, whereas the disciples of Antichrist maintain sin for money.<sup>8\*</sup> They should be meek and serviceable and not, as so many do now, give example of covetousness, which fouls the Church (Sermon 179).<sup>9</sup> Prelates should be spiritual, preach, and have little desire for bodily goods or payment, according to Sermon 80.<sup>10\*</sup> Preaching and the doing of alms should be known to men, and, above all, a life of poverty should be led (Sermon 145).<sup>11\*</sup>

Early in 1379, Wyclif attacked the common punishment of imprisonment inflicted upon those who disobeyed ecclesiastical commands and, in particular, upon one who 'publicly preached the truth.' Moreover, the reference to the persecution of 'true men' by bishops in the Gospel sermon for the third Saturday in Advent indicates that the passage was composed before 1382 when Courtenay was attempting to arouse inquisitorial zeal of his suffragans.<sup>12</sup>

In addition, some bishops are said to be glad in the true men of God, whereas others are led by friars to disapprove; this sermon

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<sup>4</sup> II, 299.

<sup>5</sup> I, 106.

<sup>6</sup> II, 49.

<sup>7</sup> I, 172.

<sup>8</sup> II, 23.

<sup>9</sup> II, 117.

<sup>10</sup> I, 266.

<sup>11</sup> II, 38.

<sup>12</sup> Talbert, *op. cit.*, p. 467.

may, then, have been written before complete restriction was imposed in 1382 (Sermon 129).<sup>13</sup> In Sermon 214 the friars are accused of speaking slander about true priests to the people and prelates as well as hindering them.<sup>14</sup>

Clerics are censured for loving the goods of the poor more than they love the men robbed (Epistle 23).<sup>15\*</sup> This sermon poses a problem in dating, because emphasis is first placed on fleeing from sins of the world (like lust), which the new sects do not do, and then secondly placed on the martyrdom of Christ. Persecution of the Lollards was not extended to punishment by death. It is known, however, that Wyclif had a strong sympathy for the Spiritual Franciscans (called friars in England), who had been subjected to burning on the continent when they did not comply with Pope John XXII's bull forbidding them to continue their insistence on the ideal of poverty (ca. 1330). A similar problem is to be found in Sermon 74, in which lawyers are said to damn men to death as heretics; however, the reference to the interpretation of the keys seems to belong to late 1379 or early 1380.<sup>16\*</sup> Perhaps the other was conceived at the same time. Still another sermon (63), thought to reflect another aspect of *Of Confession* (that confession should not be in the priest's ear), also repeats this idea in the statement, "Men who slay the body, can't slay the soul"; in addition, in the same sermon, priests are told to preach outside of houses, so that they will not be tempted by worldly goods.<sup>17\*</sup> Sermon 143 includes an objection to the lust which chokes out God's word as well as a declaration that the highest charity is suffering death for telling of God's word.<sup>18\*</sup> Workman suggests a partial explanation for these allusions:

Of the peril of 'imprisonment, privations and censures' to which the Poor Priests were exposed, Wyclif speaks as early as 1377, and the danger increased with the increase of Courtenay's vigilance, especially, as Wyclif tells us, in the dioceses of London and Lincoln.<sup>19</sup>

The inclusion of the criticism of the false tales and begging of friars as well as their hindering of the Poor Priests seems to indicate that some other sermons were also written in 1379-80. Men are told to worship true preachers and despise tellers of tales in Sermon 61.<sup>20\*</sup> Friars preach fables and heresies; yet Poor

<sup>13</sup> II, 11.

<sup>14</sup> II, 182.

<sup>15</sup> II, 289.

<sup>16</sup> I, 239.

<sup>17</sup> I, 194.

<sup>18</sup> II, 34.

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 204-05.

<sup>20</sup> I, 185.

Priests are not allowed to preach (Sermon 58).<sup>21\*</sup> Friars are contrary to Christ in their begging, but call "down" good men. The true priest teaches Christ to men, whereas friars blaspheme in saying Christ begged (Epistle 14).<sup>22\*</sup> Not only are true priests told to preach only the gospel and not to tell fables, as friars do, but also Antichrist is accused of preventing anyone from preaching without his leave (Sermon 208).<sup>23\*</sup> Talbert uses this to illustrate his statement that the Poor Priests preceded 1377<sup>24</sup>; because, as has been observed, accusations of the friars did not begin until after the Eucharist controversy, which seems to have been started in 1379, this sermon, because of including criticism of the friars, appears to be after that date.

Some of the references to the Poor Priests invoke conjecture. The conclusion of Sermon 158 poses an interesting dating problem. The homily seems to be directed to the preachers, for Wyclif says, "So telle thou Goddis lawe to Anticrist and his felowis," who may try to kill, but true seculars, lords and commoners, will stop the malice of these other priests who attempt to stop the true priests because of the words they tell.<sup>25\*</sup> The use of Antichrist in the singular probably indicates Gregory XI; and the reference to killing is comparable to others considered to be early. The powers of the seculars may be a reflection of *De civili domini*, which contends that lay lords are bound to amend evils resulting from reversal of God's law. The duty of priests is to live a life of poverty, because departure from this ideal is the greatest sin of the world of the day; this assertion plus that of reproving of priests doing evil reflects the same tract (Sermon 229).<sup>26\*</sup>

In Gospel 25, Wyclif states that it is permissible for Poor Priests to accept alms if they are feeble and unable to obtain food as Christ did.<sup>27\*</sup> The ideal of poverty was stressed in the earliest treatises. Because, beginning with 1379, after the attack on the friars, the reformer objected to mendicancy, this attitude may be considered early. A contrasting idea which may be later is expressed in Sermon 163, in which the author agrees that Christ did not forbid bodily meat, but men should be more concerned over spiritual meat.<sup>28\*</sup> (See above, p. 87.)

<sup>21</sup> I, 175.

<sup>22</sup> II, 260.

<sup>23</sup> II, 172.

<sup>24</sup> Talbert, *op. cit.*, p. 465.

<sup>25</sup> II, 69.

<sup>26</sup> II, 201.

<sup>27</sup> I, 62.

<sup>28</sup> II, 80.

Although the friars were accused of telling false tales after 1379, only the prelates' false tales of worldly words, not those of the friars, are mentioned in Epistle 51.<sup>29</sup>

The Epistle for the Twelfth Sunday after Trinity may be late, because the author comments on the great grace which popes and prelates insist that they have when they are appointed to their post. But the reformer exclaims that a thousand-fold more grace is given to a minister ordained by Christ.<sup>30\*</sup> The greater importance of Christ's truly ordained over the Papacy, which becomes secondary, recommends the later period.

The first four sermons of the Gospel Group appear to have been written as examples for Poor Priests, inasmuch as each concludes with instructions for elaboration on the text. Most of them emphasized the ideal of poverty and the overcoming of lust, but the fourth mentions that Clement and his followers undoubtedly curse the satellites of Urban as the latter damn the former.<sup>31</sup> If all four were written near each other, as they seem to have been (because they are the only ones with directions), they belong to late 1378 soon after Urban's attacks.<sup>32\*</sup>

One other sermon, 133, is definitely a tract for Poor Priests, who are told that it is permissible to write and then read a sermon as long as it is profitable to men's souls and not written in Latin, which men cannot understand.<sup>33\*</sup> Herein prelates are asked to preach as Christ did and not win by money. Although this tenet was introduced early, it received stress in *Of Confession* (1380), as has been previously noted. This homily, then, may be contemporary with the first four Gospel sermons.

The reference to preaching in English is related to Wyclif's translation of the Bible, which was a natural outcome of the Lollard movement. Workman concludes:

To Wyclif and his friends must be assigned the credit of first setting forth, between 1380 and 1384, the whole Bible in the English tongue.<sup>34</sup>

In his assertion of the authority of Scripture Wyclif was not alone. But Wycliff added a new doctrine, the right of every man, whether cleric or layman, to examine the Bible for himself: 'The New Testament is full of authority, and open to the understanding of simple men, as to the points that be

<sup>29</sup> II, 365.

<sup>30</sup> II, 342.

<sup>31</sup> I, 9.

<sup>32</sup> I, 1-12.

<sup>33</sup> II, 17.

<sup>34</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 156.

most needful to salvation . . . . He that keepeth meekness and charity hath the true understanding and perfection of all Holy Writ, for Christ did not write His laws on tablets, or on skins of animals, but in the hearts of men' . . . . 'The Holy Ghost teaches us the meaning of Scripture as Christ opened its sense to His Apostles.' For priests and bishops the knowledge of the Bible is necessary that they may carry out their pastoral office, and for 'all Christians, if they are to be saved,' for 'to be ignorant of the Scriptures is to be ignorant of Christ'. Every priest, therefore, ought to pass an examination in biblical knowledge, instead of wasting his time on Sarum missals and other service books. When asked by a correspondent what state of life was most fitting for the man who wished to love God Wyclif replied that 'God hath ordained state of priests, state of knights, and state of commons', but in every state 'it helpeth Christian men to study the Gospel in that tongue in which they know best Christ's sentence'.<sup>35</sup>

Some of the homilies apparently pre-date the beginning of the translation. The Seventh Sunday Gospel after Trinity appears to be very early because of its reference to proper absolution that *the* pope (probably Gregory XI) and *his* vicars should practice; also priests should feed parishioners with spiritual food of the gospels and sentences of saints.<sup>36\*</sup> The use of saints' words is rejected in Sermon 94 and the telling of the Holy Gospels is advocated.<sup>37\*</sup> Obviously, the reversal of ideas indicates a later date; but the exclusion of other abuses does not permit a definite dating.

Wyclif's early insistence on the use of whole chapters rather than single words helped to place Sermon 239 in the first period of his reforms (1375-78), because the assertion is made that men should not take a single word and make a fable of it.<sup>38\*</sup>

One other sermon (176) that may be an early argument for translation seems to refer to the philosophy of *Of Dominion* because the religious men, out of their covetousness, conspired to hide God's law from the people lest the secular lords take away the secular lordship from the clergy.<sup>39\*</sup>

The doctrine of the power of the keys is the basis for the need for explaining God's word in the common speech of the people, so that they may truly know God's law.<sup>40\*</sup> Sermon 154 does not have an abuse given, but the need for clear understanding is re-

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<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 151.

<sup>36</sup> I, 17.

<sup>37</sup> I, 332.

<sup>38</sup> II, 215.

<sup>39</sup> II, 108.

<sup>40</sup> I, 77 (Gospel 30).



iterated as preferable to the use of subtle knowledge.<sup>41\*</sup> Because of the value of the Scripture, to preach to the people the truths found in God's laws is the prelates' duty, according to Sermon 84.<sup>42\*</sup> Futhermore, Paul's teaching is used too little by the friars (Epistle 49).<sup>43\*</sup> The purpose of the Epistle group as it is explained in the first sermon is to tell Paul's Epistles in English.<sup>44\*</sup> Perhaps it could be conjectured that in the preparation of a collection, Wyclif added this comment to a sermon filled with objections to covetousness and lust. The friars are alluded to vaguely in Epistle 55 in the statement that those of the new sects, particularly the last (friars), rob the people of their goods and beguile them from the true teaching, whereas Christ's sect should preach both the Epistles and Gospels on Sundays, so that the people will not be beguiled.<sup>45\*</sup> Because this is the last sermon of the Epistle group, the reference to preaching from both sections of the Scripture may also indicate a summary written at a later date than the period of accusation of the friars.

#### VIII. MISCELLANEOUS METHODS OF DATING

Some of the sermons contain statements that either relate to other minor events of the age or are comparable to attitudes that have served to date other homilies. Others are considered by Talbert and Workman as writings of Lollards after Wyclif's time. And many are so indefinite that even conjectural dating is impossible.

The criticism of absolution had filled much of Wyclif's writings from his earliest days as a reformer. In Gospel 47, which alludes to Bishop Spencer's Crusade, he vehemently attacks a new prayer for which is granted 2,000 years' pardon after the day of doom. Wyclif adds that the man who uses this in preference to the Paternoster, given by Christ, may spend those years in hell.<sup>1</sup> An allusion in Sermon 28 seems to refer to the same prayer, which is apparently sponsored by Clement, inasmuch as the 2,000 years' indulgence from sin of purgatory for saying it is bestowed at the bidding of the King of France. The entire Epistle also re-

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<sup>41</sup> II, 59.

<sup>42</sup> I, 284.

<sup>43</sup> II, 360.

<sup>44</sup> II, 221.

<sup>45</sup> II, 375.

<sup>1</sup> I, 134.

grets the lamentable state of the Pope, who makes such grants without the assurance of God's grace, and the horrible state of the monastic houses, which exact payment from poor men to maintain their houses but do not minister to fellow men.<sup>2\*</sup> Because no reference is made to the Crusade, this may have been written shortly after the election of Clement (1379), who is considered Antipope.

Sermon 102 denies that the repetition of Mary's name is worth 2,000 years' indulgence; a reference to Richard II as King places it after June 21, 1377.<sup>3</sup>

Oxford is mentioned in several sermons. Gospels 38<sup>4</sup> and 35<sup>5</sup> both state that speculative doubts should be left to Oxford. These probably were penned before Wyclif's condemnation or at least before all of his followers were forced by Courtenay to leave in 1382 and 1383. The universities are the true lights maintained by God to replace the light of bishops and prelates who have "gone out."<sup>6\*</sup> A further allusion to the pope's following Christ probably dates the reference in 1378-81.

Arnold thinks that Sermon 78 refers to Sudbury's murder during the Peasant's Revolt in 1381 as well as to Urban's rejection by the cardinals on the basis of these statements: "Prelates are persecuted by followers and cardinals pursue the pope as the fiend's children pursued Him."<sup>7</sup> The Peasants' Revolt had produced an English treatise entitled *Of Servants and Lords*, in which Wyclif insisted that the duty of the peasants was obedience even to tyrants; but the masters, as Christians, were told that they were responsible for the humane treatment of their tenants.<sup>8</sup> The first introduction of a theory which may have been the background for this appeared in *Of Dominion* (1376), in which the author warned the lords that the despoiling of the tenants for their own worldly gain was contrary to Christ's law. Wyclif admitted that the lords were impoverished, because they supported religious orders and clerics in exchange for spiritual benefits.<sup>9</sup> The Fifth Sunday Epistle after the Octave of Twelfth Day bemoans the lack of charity of the monks; if this new sect would be Christlike, lords and their poor tenants might be relieved.<sup>10\*</sup> This sermon may,

<sup>2</sup> II, 302.

<sup>3</sup> I, 353.

<sup>4</sup> I, 102.

<sup>5</sup> I, 92.

<sup>6</sup> II, 308 (Epistle 30).

<sup>7</sup> I, 257.

<sup>8</sup> Matthew, *op. cit.*, 284-93.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> II, 255.

then, be a reflection of *Of Dominion* (1376). Two sermons which are probably contemporary with *Of Servants and Lords* (1381) are Gospel 9 and Epistle 25. Worldly lords are told in the first to forgive debts and to discharge poor tenants of any charges against them.<sup>11\*</sup> The other contention of the treatise is discussed in the second, in which servants are urged to serve their masters, because Christ was subservient to tyrants.<sup>12</sup>

Another idea is mentioned by Workman:

Towards the close of life, however, he allowed that 'priests were wifeless against God's authority,' though characteristically maintaining that such marriage may be consistent with virginity.<sup>13</sup>

Sermon 105 may be thought to have been written in the last several years, inasmuch as it concludes thus:

This [celibacy] is the caste [plot] of the fend, to kindle fir in heerdīs [shepherds, priests]; for or [either] thei moten [must] bothe brenne [burn], or the kepere mote leeve his craft [vocation] and traveile [work] to kepe this fir.<sup>14\*</sup>

Talbert offers the following reason for thinking certain sermons post-date Wyclif's death:

Workman has pointed out a passage which undoubtedly refers to the Constitutions of Oxford, which were formulated in November, 1407, and prohibited translation and preaching of the Bible. The passage occurs in the Gospel sermon for Palm Sunday,<sup>15</sup> but it also contains a reference to an event of even a later date. The statutes referred to are said to have been confirmed by a 'graunt of knyghtis'—that is, by parliamentary action—which is said to have been procured by bribery. The statement is all the more surprising since lords and 'knightis' were otherwise the Lollards' hopes for dispossessing the clergy and are elsewhere said to favor Wyclifite tenets. As far as we know, the only time the laity were concerned with the Constitutions and the earliest confirmation of them by Parliament was in November 13, 1411. Hence, the passage was probably written *ca.* 1412, for it refers to an action of Parliament supporting statutes formulated in 1407, confirmed by a synod in January 1409 and by Parliament in November, 1411.

There are other references to Lollard sympathizers' being seduced by bribery, but they refer to seculars. In the Gospel sermon for Easter Eve,<sup>16</sup> the author, who hopes that the ecclesiastical authorities will not be able to seduce other 'true men' by giving them benefices, is undoubtedly referring to Lollards who have recanted and remained orthodox. Similar passages occur

<sup>11</sup> I, 22.

<sup>12</sup> II, 294.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 45.

<sup>14</sup> I, 364.

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 197: "I know of no incident in parliament in Wyclif's life to which it could refer. Not so in Purvey's." The sermon is found in I, 128.

<sup>16</sup> II, 131.

in the second and third Gospel sermons for the Common of Many Martyrs,<sup>17</sup> <sup>18</sup> the Gospel sermons for the fourth Friday in Advent<sup>19</sup> and the fifth Tuesday in Lent.<sup>20</sup> The majority of benefices and preferments granted to Lollards who had recanted were made during the nineties and at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Moreover, in 1392 another determined attempt was made to force the Lollards to recant—an attempt equalled in intensity only by that of *ca.* 1382, when the recantation of the Oxford Lollards who were now being rewarded had been obtained. Likewise in the second Gospel sermon for the Common of Many Martyrs,<sup>21</sup> a passage occurs in which 'knyghtis' are said to favor Bible translations and which is applicable to an event probably *ca.* 1395. At that time, probably in answer to the clerics' counter-attack against a reformation of the Church, John of Gaunt is supposed to have said in the Parliament of January, 1395, that since other nations had the Bible in their native tongue, England should likewise. However, that counter-attack is conjectural, being deduced from remarks in Purvey's *Determination*, wherein it is said that a bill forbidding English translations was placed before Parliament in the reign of Richard and that John of Gaunt then made that remark. Thus those passages referring to the seduction of seculars and this referring to knights favoring Bible translation were probably composed between 1392 and 1399, possibly *ca.* 1395.<sup>22</sup>

Many of the sermons defy even conjectural dating because the abuses listed are so general that they might be applicable to any period or abuse and because the explanation of a text fills many sermons in which no abuse is listed. Consequently, about a third of the total of 294 sermons must be classified as indefinite.<sup>23</sup>

## IX. CONCLUSIONS

As the result of the evidence presented in this study, we may conclude that the English sermons were written between 1375 and 1384. Several factors tend to support this contention. First, the task of writing almost three hundred sermons in the last several years of Wyclif's life would have been tremendous, especially because he was at the same time engaged in writing a *Summa* of his Latin sermons and treatises and in issuing, in English, polemics

<sup>17</sup> I, 206.

<sup>18</sup> I, 209.

<sup>19</sup> II, 13.

<sup>20</sup> II, 103.

<sup>21</sup> Workman, *op. cit.*, II, 197 n.: "To refer this to the experiences of Purvey . . . seems more natural than to ascribe to Wyclif. So also the reference to 'knight' and 'their will to read in English the gospel of Christ's life' . . . must be later than Wyclif."

<sup>22</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 472-73.

<sup>23</sup> See Table 1 for a list of undated sermons.

against the whole clerical party. Second, during the last two years, Wyclif suffered from a partial paralysis which, as he said, forbade his journeying to Rome, and ill health had plagued him for several years before the paralysis had attacked him. Third, his own beliefs would also substantiate the early date. He had long lamented the quality of service given to parishioners by worldly clergy, and he insisted that his Poor Priests should give spiritual food to all. Because his parish work at Lutterworth began in 1375 at a period when he was formulating his objections to the acceptance of alms for poor-services rendered, his own failure to fulfill this duty would be contrary to a doctrine which became a main tenet of this system and which urged him to organize the Poor Priests. Such inconsistency is unlike Wyclif. His refusal to relinquish any of his "heretical" principles in the face of trial and possible persecution indicates his ability to stay as true to his convictions as he advised the Poor Priests to stay, even in the face of martyrdom.

The question of the authenticity of these sermons may only be propounded here. It is obvious that a collection of the English homilies was made either late in Wyclif's life by himself or Purvey, his fellow worker, or after the reformer's death. The very fact that some seem to have been written as models for or messages to the Poor Priests, whereas others seem to be for his own delivery, denies a sequence in their writing. Furthermore, if the assumptions included herein are true, an early one and a later may be placed side by side.<sup>1</sup> The evidence introduced by Workman and Talbert concerning the inclusion of some sermons written after Wyclif's lifetime would indicate that their order is the result of an editor's choice of the best for the text or day for which each sermon was selected.

However, the authenticity of the sermons, with the possible exception of about six, is assumed by the authorities on Wyclif. Once, then, a tentative chronology of the sermons is established, they may be studied in proper perspective with the other works. No longer will they be considered as a summation of ideas presented in English at the end of his theories of reform, but rather as contemporary with the development of those reforms.

The sermons which were written before 1378, the date of

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<sup>1</sup> See Table 1 for a tentative chronology of the sermons.

Gregory XI's death, are mainly concerned with the many ramifications of worldliness—lust, power, covetousness—which sponsored false absolution and threw aside the ideal of poverty. The monk's departure from men's sight also is an important abuse of the period which was coupled with the previous theory to provide the impetus for the organization of the Poor Priests.

The second period of Wyclif's opposition to the tenets of the Catholicism of his day extended from 1379 to 1382, the date of the Blackfriars Synod. His first attitude toward Urban VI was one of hope for a return to piety, but when he realized that his wishes were in vain, his chastisement became increasingly severe. Popes should be obeyed only if they followed Christ; if they didn't—the final attitude toward the Papacy was in view. The problem of the sacred Host filled much of his writing at this time, induced an unofficial and an official condemnation of him as a heretic, forced his resignation from Oxford, and resulted in an antagonism against the friars, who disagreed with him and whose other faults were soon vehemently denounced.

From the time of the Blackfriars Synod until his death, Wyclif injected into his polemics all the forceful tongue-lashing possible. Bishop Spencer and his Crusade were severely censured. The Papacy and even the clergy were unnecessary, for every man could come to the love of God, and every man as Christ's brother had the opportunity to inherit eternal bliss if he truly exemplified God's love on this earth.

Table 1

## TENTATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF WYCLIF'S ENGLISH SERMONS

G stands for "Gospel Sermon" (as numbers are duplicated in the Epistle Sermons), E for "Epistle Sermon." Sermons marked with asterisks have not been dated by other investigators, and tentative dates are assigned to them in this article. A list of the sermons for which dating has not been attempted is given at the end of the table.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Historical Events</i>	<i>Dated Treatises</i>	<i>Dated Ideas</i>	<i>Sermons Dated in This Period</i>
1371	Gregory XI made Pope			
1374	Commission at Bruges			155*.
1375		<i>Of Dominion</i> (opposes worldliness of clergy)	}	{ G7*, G17*, G19*, G30*, G42*, 93*, 98*, 99*, 110*, 112*, 114*, 115*, 117*, 124*, 135*, 156*, 157*, 158*, 159*, 161*, 170*, 176*, 178*, 194*, 195*, 215*, 216*, 225*, 229*, 234*, 235*, 239*, E12*, E26*, E53*.
1376		<i>De civili dominio</i> (secular over clerical in world affairs)		
1376-8			Poor Priests organized	{ G25*, G39*, 57*, 149*, 186*, E23*, E27*, E51*.
1376-8			Dislike of monks	{ G15*, G26*, G32*, G40*, G50, 62*, 68*, 81*, 85, 121*, 153*, 191*, E27*.
1377	Trial at St. Paul's	<i>De ecclesia</i> (predestination)		199*.
	Gregory's bulls against Wyclif	<i>De officio regis</i> (king, ruling Christ; priest, loving Christ)		90*, 97*, 228*.
1377	Richard II crowned			102*.
1378	Lambeth Trial			
	Gregory XI died, Mar.			
	Urban VI elected, Apr.	Letter to Urban (favored Pope)		G16*.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Historical Events</i>	<i>Dated Treatises</i>	<i>Dated Ideas</i>	<i>Sermons Dated in This Period</i>
	Clement VII elected, Aug.			G36, E28.
	Urban damned Clement, Nov.			G1*, G2*, G3*, G4
1379		<i>De Papa</i> (follow pope if he follows Christ)		70*, 119*, 140, 141*, E6*, E46*.
			Eucharist (first ideas)	G8*, E47*.
1379-84			Dislike of friars	G23*, G29, 58*, 59*, 61*, 64*, 83*, 88*, 113*, 116*, 129, 162*, 164*, 182*, 192*, 208*, 214*, 238*, E14*, E39*.
1379-80		<i>Of Confession</i> (opposes private confession and power of keys)		G14*, G31*, G52*, 63*, 74*, 80*, 100*, 133*, 137*, 143*, 145*, 179*, 189*, 209*, 231*.
	Oxford Condemnation	<i>Confessio</i>		
1380-4			Bible translation	84*, 94*, 130*, 154*, E1*, E49*, E55*.
1381	Wyclif left Oxford			G35, G38, E30* (pre-1381).
	Peasants' Revolt	<i>Of Servants and Lords</i> (on this revolt)		78, G9*, E25*.
1382	Preaching of Spencer's Crusade			G6*, 55*, 71*, 72*, 75*, 79*, 144*, 146*, 167*, 220*, 236*, 237*, E3*, E11*.
	Blackfriars Synod			69*.
		<i>Confessio</i> (Eucharist)		G44*, 104*, 163*, 167*, 177*, 206*, E13*, E17*.
		<i>English Complaint</i> (should obey Christ, not pope)		G11*.
		<i>De blasphemia</i> (all hierarchy condemned)		64*, G10*, 120*, E9*.
1383	Spencer's Crusade			G41, G43*, G47, G51, 77, 89*, 166, E18*, E44*, E45.



<i>Date</i>	<i>Historical Events</i>	<i>Dated Treatises</i>	<i>Dated Ideas</i>	<i>Sermons Dated in This Period</i>
		New letter to Urban (opposed pope)		E10*.
1384	After Spencer's Crusade			G48, 203, 221, E31*, E32*.
		<i>Church and Her Members</i> (follow only Christ)		G18*, G24*, 86*, 87*, 101*, 109, 212*, E2*, E15*, E20, E22*, E33*, E35*, E42*.
			Celibacy	105*.

Sermons probably written after Wyclif's death: 66, 67, 128, 131, 173, 181.

Undated sermons: G5, G12, G13, G20, G21, G22, G27, G28, G33, G34, G37, G45, G46, G49, G53, G54, 56, 60, 65, 73, 76, 82, 91, 92, 95, 96, 103, 105, 106, 107, 108, 111, 115, 118, 122, 123, 125, 126, 127, 128, 131, 132, 134, 136, 138, 139, 142, 147, 148, 150, 151, 152, 160, 165, 168, 169, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 180, 181, 183, 184, 185, 187, 188, 190, 193, 196, 198, 200, 201, 202, 204, 205, 207, 210, 211, 213, 217, 218, 219, 222, 224, 226, 227, 230, 232, 233, E4, E5, E7, E8, E16, E19, E21, E24, E29, E34, E36, E37, E38, E40, E41, E48, E50, E52, E54.

# THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE ROGUE RIVER VALLEY, OREGON<sup>1</sup>

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Situated between two great valleys, the Willamette and the Sacramento, which were major goals of western migration during the middle decades of the nineteenth century, the Rogue River Valley has been so overshadowed in West Coast history that its significance as a link in the settlement pattern of the West has not been adequately recognized.

The Rogue River area consists of a series of main tributary valleys along the middle section of the Rogue River in southwestern Oregon, prominent mainly because of its commercial pear orchards (one of the three leading pear-producing centers of the nation) and for its exceptionally high standards of culture and purchasing power for a dominantly agricultural region. Entrenched two or three thousand feet within the Klamath Plateau and separated from the coast by sixty or seventy miles of virtually impassable mountains, the region comprises only 690 square miles of arable land, yet supports a population of approximately 50,000. Medford, 12,000, is the largest city in the valley, followed by Grants Pass and Ashland, in the 5,000 to 6,000 class, and by half a dozen smaller towns, including the historic semi-ghost town of Jacksonville.

It is bounded on the west by the coast ranges of Oregon and a precipitous river gorge, on the east by the Cascades, on the north and on the south by the east-west-trending monadnock ridges of the Klamath Plateau, known, respectively, as the Umpqua and the Siskiyou mountains, the effect being a degree of isolation that has exercised an important influence on the region throughout its history.

Climatically it lies within the more arid phase of the north-Pacific province, and on the basis of its general location would belong to the Marine Temperate classification. Its inland position within the drought-shadow of the mountains, however, reduces its rainfall and increases its temperature until most stations in the valley fall into a Koppen Csb (that is, modified Mediterranean) type.

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<sup>1</sup>Paper read before the Association of American Geographers at the annual meeting, December 29, 1948, at Madison, Wisconsin.

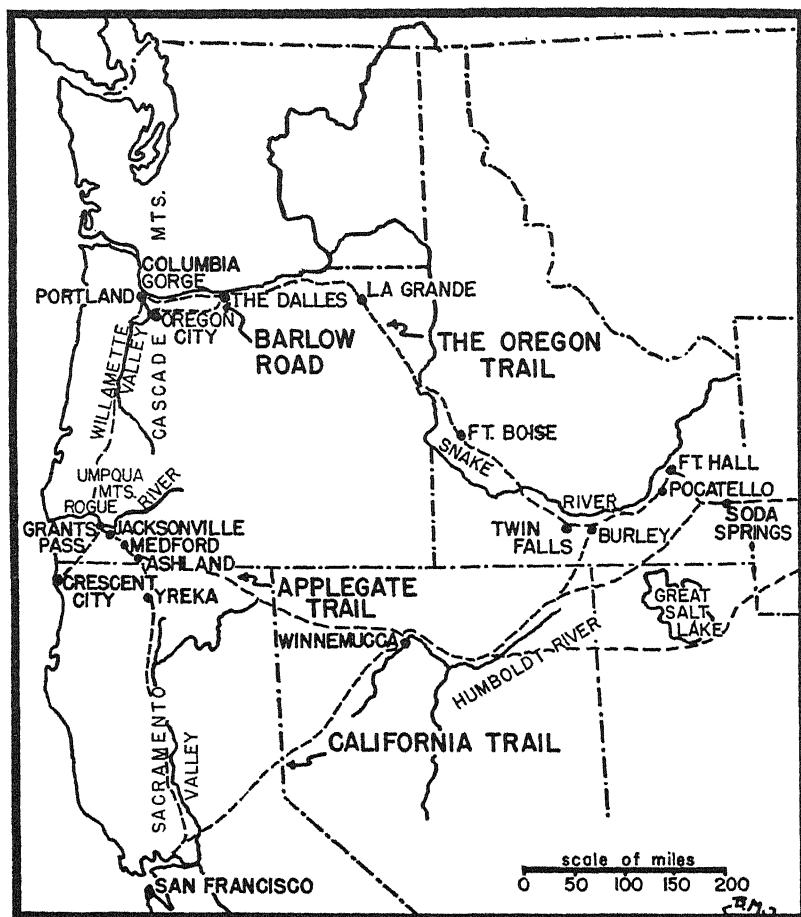


Figure 1. Migration routes into the Oregon country, 1840-50.

*The Fur-Trading Era.* The first white men in the Rogue River region were French-Canadian trappers and fur traders, sent out as early as 1828 from the Hudson's Bay post at Fort Vancouver.<sup>2</sup> During the 1830's these traders visited the region regularly, but as returns were disappointing, the Company by 1846 abandoned its Fort Vancouver post and ended the era of fur-trading in the area.

<sup>2</sup> Alice Applegate Sargent, "A Sketch of the Rogue River Valley and Southern Oregon History," *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, XXII (1921), March, p. 1.

*The Trade-Route Era.* While it was still the realm of the trapper, a few pioneers from California occasionally passed through from 1834 to 1837.<sup>3</sup> In 1846 an expedition in search of an overland route from California to the Willamette Valley experienced such difficulty in getting over the Siskiyou mountains that the establishment of a road through the region was considered impracticable.<sup>4</sup>

The 1840's, in general, were years of active migration into the Oregon country. The first-comers, who attempted to follow the Columbia River, discovered that a road could not be built through the Columbia gorge with pioneer equipment, and that wagons and stock could not be rafted through because of falls and rapids. Jesse Applegate, Levi Scott, and Samuel Barlow, recognizing the importance of an overland route through the Cascade Mountains, constructed the north immigrant trail, or the Barlow Road, in 1845. From The Dalles it passed south of Mt. Hood and then turned westward to Oregon City. Heavy timber and winter snows, however, so limited the effective use of this route that it was obviously desirable to find an easier trail across the mountains. In 1846 another expedition, under the leadership of Jesse and Lindsay Applegate, visited the Rogue River seeking a southern route by which immigrants might reach the Willamette Valley. Near the present site of Ashland, the expedition turned east over the Cascade Mountains, reaching the Oregon Trail a few miles west of Fort Hall. Here the group met a train of 150 immigrants, whom they conducted over the proposed new route, the Applegate party traveling ahead to make a road over which the immigrant wagons could pass. The new road—crooked, narrow, and steep—nevertheless shortened the distance to the Willamette Valley about two hundred miles and became known as the Applegate Cut-off, or the South Immigrant Road. The following year the Provisional Government of Oregon appropriated \$20,000 to improve it, and the Rogue River Valley became one of the regular immigrant highways.<sup>5</sup>

In 1848 gold was discovered in California, and men from all parts of the country flocked to the southern fields. With gold as an incentive, the trail southward from the Rogue River over the Siski-

<sup>3</sup> A. G. Walling, *History of Southern Oregon* (Portland, Oregon, 1884), p. 186.

<sup>4</sup> William Pierce Tucker, *The History of Jackson County, Oregon* (Master's Thesis, University of Washington, 1931), p. 33.

<sup>5</sup> Sargent, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.

yous, pronounced impractical for traffic in 1846, became the quickest and shortest route to California, and hundreds of men, mainly from the Willamette settlements, trekked southward through the valley on their way to California gold.

Being among the first to reach California, many of them picked up small fortunes very quickly and were ready to return to their Willamette Valley homes by the spring of 1849.<sup>6</sup> Farmers by heritage, they used most of their earnings to buy agricultural equipment and thus greatly stimulated Willamette Valley development. High prices were offered in California for all the food that could be brought to market. This demand for supplies led to the building of a wagon-freight road across the Siskiyou over the pass now used by the Pacific Highway, and many loads of grain and supplies and large herds of beef cattle were driven over this route between 1849 and 1851.

Before 1850 there was no practical inducement to settlement. Besides being occupied by troublesome Indians, the valley was considered too isolated for agricultural development. With its opening as an integral part of the California trade route, however, three ferry stations on the river were established in 1851, and the stage was set for settlement in the valley itself.

*The Gold Mining Period.* Glowing accounts of many traders and emigrants who passed through were not sufficient incentive to induce settlement of the Rogue River Valley. Despite its potentialities, it was still too remote from other pioneer centers in Oregon. In 1851, however, an accidental discovery focused attention sharply upon the entire Rogue River region. Two drivers in the California-Willamette trade, stopping near the present site of Jacksonville, found nuggets of gold in an exposed ledge on Jackson Creek. After observing hopeful signs in several other places, the two men staked claims.<sup>7</sup> Proceeding to Yreka, California, they bought tools and equipment and returned to work their holdings. Despite efforts to keep the discovery a secret, the news escaped and spread rapidly. As a result, miners came to Jackson Creek in such numbers that within two months over a thousand men were on the grounds.<sup>8</sup> The opening of the placers and the influx of miners brought with it merchants and

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<sup>6</sup> Clark, Down, and Blue, *A History of Oregon* (New York: Row, Peterson Co., 1926), p. 294.

<sup>7</sup> Tucker, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>8</sup> Sargent, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

packers to supply their needs. Jacksonville, the trading center, quickly became a flourishing boom town.

Maximum gold production during these boom days was reached by 1855, when more than a million dollars' worth of placer gold was taken from the stream beds of the region, and the population reached 5,359. Decline, both in numbers and in gold output, was noticeable by 1860, bringing to a close the early boom mining days of the region.<sup>9</sup>

*The Early Agricultural Period.* Although the discovery of gold brought about the first settlement of the country, it was not the gold itself so much as the resulting agricultural development that afforded permanent settlement. By 1852 the valley of the Rogue was well known, although the Willamette was still supplying the Northwest's agricultural produce to California. But the Rogue River Valley, in addition to being nearer to the southern markets, now promised to develop an extensive local market as well. Consequently, in the spring of 1852 several settlers from the Willamette arrived and immediately planted whatever crops their resources would permit.<sup>10</sup> By the end of that year the mines were in full production and the new town of Jacksonville was growing rapidly.

The summer of 1853 marked a big advance in agriculture. During that year livestock was brought in, and butter and cheese produced locally brought satisfying returns. But the big money crop was wheat; for at that time several thousand miners depended almost entirely upon the fields of the valley for their supply of flour. By 1854 more wheat was raised in the Rogue River Valley in proportion to the population than anywhere else in the state,<sup>11</sup> and two flour mills were built near Ashland, followed by a third in 1855.

Unlike many agricultural supply centers for the boom towns of the West, the Rogue River country did not suffer materially from the decline of the placers, which occurred after 1860. Many of those who made comfortable fortunes in the gold fields remained in the valley. When the number of miners began to decline and the number of farmers to increase, the supply of agricultural produce exceeded the local demand, and for the first time the Rogue River Valley had a surplus. As the local market diminished, the farmers changed from wheat-raising to products that were more valuable than wheat in pro-

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<sup>9</sup> Walling, *op. cit.*, p. 360.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 339.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 343.

portion to their bulk, and that could thus stand the cost of shipment outside of the valley. Wool, bacon, and beef became the chief staples. Thus a new economic basis was established by degrees, and the region maintained something better than a subsistence level until it began to assume its present economic pattern, which started with the completion of rail lines through the valley in 1887.

*The Present Mode of Occupance.* The present pattern of economy in the Rogue River region depended upon the development of transportation and irrigation, and hence unfolded relatively late. Although the lack of communication with the world outside had been felt keenly for some time, thirty-six years passed between the first settlement of the valley and the completion of the rail lines in 1887. In 1906, nearly twenty years after the railroad entering the valley had connected it with markets and provided outlets both north and south, the first integrated irrigation system was established. Almost immediately wealthy Easterners staged a mild repetition of the gold rush, attracted by the combination of climate, scenery, and the widely-advertised (through *Sunset Magazine* and the Southern Pacific Railway) opportunities for orchard cultivation. During the summer of 1908 every train, it is said, delivered new arrivals. These newcomers not only brought with them capital, scientific knowledge, and business training for the orchard industry, but also introduced the social culture that characterizes the valley today. Edwin Bates, for example, in his *Commercial Survey of the Pacific Northwest*, points out:

In its development this area attracted many wealthy families from Eastern United States. Persons whose names appear in the social register of Chicago, New York, and Boston have invested in pear production in this section and at various times of the year are shoppers in the stores at Medford. Their purchasing ability and their discrimination in buying have a marked influence on the retail trade of the city.<sup>12</sup>

The fourth and latest factor that added to the economy of the region was the construction through the valley of the Pacific Highway from California to Portland in 1914. This route provided an additional outlet for produce and a means of attracting tourists. Both Ashland and Grants Pass as gateways to Rogue River fishing, Crater Lake, and the Oregon Caves depend in no small way for their economic welfare upon the servicing of tourists.

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<sup>12</sup> Domestic Commerce Series No. 51, Washington, D. C., Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, 1935.

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# RESEARCH STUDIES of the STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON

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## THE FARMERS' ALLIANCES IN WASHINGTON— PRELUDE TO POPULISM\*

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### I. THE RISE OF THE ALLIANCES

*Prelude to Populism.*—The young pioneer state of Washington, admitted to the Union only in 1889, was one of the several states that came under control of the People's Party, most commonly known as the Populist Party, in the decade of the 1890's.<sup>1</sup> A Populist was elected Governor of the state in 1896 and reelected in 1900. The Legislative Assembly of 1893 contained nine members of the People's Party. This number increased to twenty-three in the Assembly of 1895, and to fifty-nine in the Assembly of 1897, during which the legislators of the new party formed a coalition with Democrats and Silver Republicans to make more than a majority. After the return of the Republican Party to control of the Legislative Assembly in 1899, there were still twenty-eight People's Party legislators in the Assembly.<sup>2</sup> In the election of 1896 two Congressmen, one a Democrat and the other a Silver Republican, but both having campaigned on a Populist-Democrat-Silver Republican coalition platform, essentially Populist in its planks, were elected to represent the state of Washington in the national legislature. They were J. H. Lewis of Seattle and W. C. Jones of Spokane. And in 1897 the coalition of Populists, Democrats, and Silver Republicans in the State Legislature elected a former Silver Republican, George H. Turner of Spokane, then calling himself a "Populist of Populists," United States Senator from the state of Washington for the term of 1897-1903.

A prelude to the Populist movement in the state, however, was

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<sup>1</sup> For extent, influence, and rule of Populism in other states and in the national Congress, see J. D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt* (Minneapolis, 1931), Chaps. VI—XIII; Anna Rochester, *The Populist Movement in the United States* (New York, 1943), Chaps. 5-13; and S. J. Buck, *The Agrarian Crusade* (New Haven, 1920), Chaps. IX and X.

<sup>2</sup> *Political and Legislative Manual* (Olympia, Wash., 1899), pp. 58-68.

the Farmers' Alliance—two branches of it—the National Farmers' Alliance, generally referred to as the Northern or Northwestern Alliance, because its membership was chiefly in the northern and northwestern states; and the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, generally called the Southern Alliance, because its membership was largely in the South and Southwest. The former entered Washington Territory early in 1888, and the latter about two years later, after the territory had become a state. Most of the ideas, reforms, and policies set forth in the platforms of the People's Party of Washington in 1892, 1894, 1896, and 1898 were first advocated by the two Alliances from 1888 to 1892. The majority of the outstanding leaders of the People's Party in the state were previously leaders in the Alliances. The great bulk of the rank and file membership of the People's Party had been members of local Alliances. When the People's Party was organized in the state in 1891 and 1892, members from the Alliances constituted the zealots and the enthusiastic promoters of the new party.<sup>3</sup>

*The National Alliance Movement.*—The Alliance, like the Granger and the Populist movements, was agrarian and social. It arose out of economic, social, and political discontent and grievances; it generated a host of local, state, and national leaders; it developed an elaborate set of ideologies; it crystallized into a loose organization of articulated local, state, and national units; it became an effective pressure group, seeking to abolish evils and institute reforms; it became a semi-independent political party; it tried to bring about a number of political and economic reforms through legislation; and finally it declined and passed out of existence.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> The Alliances were likewise a prelude to Populism in other states and in the nation at large. See A. M. Arnett, *The Populist Movement in Georgia* (New York, 1922), Chap. 111; J. B. Clark, *Populism in Alabama* (Auburn, Ala., 1927), Chaps. III and IV; W. D. Sheldon, *Populism in the Old Dominion* (Princeton, 1935), Chap. 11; W. P. Harrington, *The Populist Party in Kansas* (Topeka, Kan.: Kansas Historical Society), Vol. XVI, pp. 403-51; Marion Harrington, *The Populist Movement in Oregon* (Eugene, Ore., 1940), Chap. 11; J. D. Hicks, *op. cit.*, Chaps. IV-VIII; Anna Rochester, *op. cit.*, Chaps. VIII and IX.

<sup>4</sup> For characteristics of general social movements, see A. M. Lee (ed.), *New Outlines of the Principles of Sociology* (New York, 1946), Chap. XXII; and for farmers' movements, F. R. Yoder, *Introduction to Agricultural Economics* (New York, 1929 and 1938), Chap. XIX; B. H. Hibbard, *Marketing Agricultural Products* (New York, 1921), Part II; L. B. Schmidt and E. D. Ross, *Readings in the Economic History of American Agriculture* (New York, 1925), Chap. XXIV; "Agrarian Movements," *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences* (New York, 1930), I, 489-515.

The Alliance movement in Washington was a part of the great national Alliance movement that got under way in the Middle West and in the South about 1880 and swept to a climax in the early 1890's. The state, county, and local Alliances in Washington, as in all the other states, followed general patterns of organization and social action laid down by the constitution and the officials of the national organizations. Many of the ideas, demands, and proposed reforms of the state, county, and local Alliances were simply echoes of the national Alliances. On the other hand, there was ample opportunity for the farmers of the state, county, and local units of the Alliances to give special attention to local problems affecting their particular interests.<sup>5</sup>

The National Farmers' Alliance, hereafter referred to as the Northwestern Alliance, had its official origin as a national organization in 1880. During the ensuing decade it spread rapidly through the upper Mississippi Valley and obtained a large membership in Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Nebraska, Kansas, Missouri, and the Dakotas, and a considerable membership in the Pacific Northwest. The National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, hereafter referred to as the Southern Alliance, had evolved through the consolidation of several state and regional organizations. This branch of the Alliance, though never as strong as the other branch of the Alliance in the state of Washington, had a much larger national membership. It spread widely throughout the South and Southwest, extended into the lower Middle West, and reached the Far West about 1890.

The objectives, programs, policies, organization, and activities of the two national Alliances were very much alike and became even more similar by 1890. Minor issues, however—such as secrecy, racial discrimination, membership qualifications, and different emphases on the order of objectives to be achieved—kept them from

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<sup>5</sup> Histories of the organization and activities of the two national Alliances are to be found in N. B. Ashby, *The Riddle of the Sphinx* (Des Moines, Iowa, 1890); J. E. Bryan, *The Farmers' Alliance: Its Origin, Progress and Purposes* (Fayetteville, Ark., 1891); H. R. Chamberlain, *The Farmers' Alliance; What It Aims to Accomplish* (New York, 1891); N. A. Dunning, *The Farmers' Alliance History and Agricultural Digest* (Washington, 1891); and W. S. Morgan, *History of the Wheel and Alliance, and the Impending Revolution* (Fort Scott, Kan., 1891). Good brief accounts are to be found in J. D. Hicks, *op. cit.*, Chaps., IV-VII; Anna Rochester, *op. cit.*, Chaps. 4 and 5; and B. H. Hibbard, *Agricultural Economics* (New York, 1948), Chap. 28.

uniting as a single national organization.<sup>6</sup> For the first few years of their existence, there was little competition and rivalry for members, but after 1890 the two Alliances began to get into common territory in their organizational activities in the Middle West and the Far West and became serious and even bitter rivals in some sections. This rivalry became particularly keen and quite bitter in eastern Washington in 1891.

The scheme of organization of the two Alliances was also quite similar. A centralized national organization and headquarters, operating under a constitution, issued charters to local, county, and state sub-Alliances. Although the national Alliances laid down certain requirements of membership and small dues to be paid to the national organizations and took the lead in proposing programs and policies, a large degree of autonomy was left to the county and state Alliances. Both of the national Alliances were very loosely organized associations.<sup>7</sup>

*The Alliances in Washington.*<sup>8</sup>—The Northwestern Alliance first reached Whitman County and Washington Territory, according to newspaper accounts, early in 1888. In March of that year an invitation was extended through the press to "all farmers, whether delegates or not, to meet the last Saturday of each month at Elberton with the Alliance."<sup>9</sup> The obtaining of members and the organization of local sub-Alliances seem to have gone forward rather rapidly during the spring and early summer of 1888. It was reported that on July 4th of that year "a big farmer's [sic] picnic and rally was held under the auspices of the Farmers' Alliance of Whitman County at Elberton. A crowd of 2000 was in attendance, a big parade took place, and in the afternoon a business meeting of the Alliance was held."<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> J. D. Hicks, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-27.

<sup>7</sup> Patterns of organization of the two national Alliances are to be found in N. B. Ashby, *op. cit.*, Part II, Chaps. VII, VIII, X.

<sup>8</sup> Although the two Alliances spread over most parts of Washington between 1888 and 1892, it is primarily their activities in eastern and southeastern Washington that are sketched here. The sources of the writer's information are almost exclusively country newspaper files. No records or reports of the two Alliances have been found.

<sup>9</sup> *Colfax Commoner*, March 16, 1888. The files of this paper, which for 1888-92 gave unusually good accounts of Alliance discussions, doctrines, and activities, for both Whitman County and the state, are a gold mine of information on the Alliances. Its files are the major source of information for this account. Hereinafter, citations consisting only of dates refer to this newspaper.

<sup>10</sup> July 6, 1888.

During the early months of 1889 Whitman County Alliance organizers were very active. They entered the northern part of the county and organized a number of local units. Organizers were also appointed by the Whitman County Alliance to begin organization work in Spokane County. In March it was reported that "the organization is constantly increasing in this county, and quite a number of Alliances have been instituted in adjoining counties."<sup>11</sup> By June, 1889, J. W. Arrasmith, Secretary of the Whitman County Alliance, as well as of the state organization, announcing the forthcoming visit of President Jay Burrows of the National Farmers' Alliance, gave out the following statement, which perhaps somewhat exaggerated the growth of the Alliance in Washington: "Although the Alliance is pretty generally organized throughout the territory, there is yet plenty of timber for new and substantial organization and the sentiment of the people is ripe for such a visit from the head official of the strong and rapidly growing organization."<sup>12</sup>

So rapid was the growth of the Northwestern Alliance in Whitman County during 1889 that, in January of 1890, the editor of the *Colfax Commoner*, one of the leading weeklies in the county, announced that "acting upon the solicitation of many members of the Farmers' Alliance we have set aside one page of the *Commoner* for exclusive and continuous publication of all matters pertaining to the interests and the advancement of the Alliance." The editor also reiterated previous statements of the paper that "organization is the only remedy for the farmer" and assured farmers that his paper would "encourage organization and do all it can to promote the organization of the Farmers' Alliance in the State of Washington."<sup>13</sup>

The enthusiasm of Alliance leaders and the intensity of the organization campaign for new members by the Northwestern Alliance in Whitman County in the early part of 1890 is indicated by a report of R. C. McCroskey, of the county membership committee, "urging the diagramming and plotting of the county in triplicate by townships and allotting to each member a certain number of sections and names, and that each member visit and induce

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<sup>11</sup> March 19, 1889.

<sup>12</sup> June 7, 1889.

<sup>13</sup> January 7, 1890.

farmers worthy and qualified to become members of the Alliance."<sup>14</sup>

During 1890 the Northwestern Alliance was extended rapidly throughout southeastern Washington. Early in the spring of that year the state President "entered Columbia County and organized a number of locals."<sup>15</sup> In June the Secretary of the state Alliance reported "rapid increase of Alliances in Lincoln County."<sup>16</sup> In the same month "a county Alliance meeting attended by delegates from twenty local Alliances" was held in Walla Walla County.<sup>17</sup> And from Garfield County came another report of "a movement on foot to organize Alliances in all the precincts of the county."<sup>18</sup> By July, Alliance activity had become so strong in Columbia County that delegates from the various new locals "were requested to meet to form a county Alliance."<sup>19</sup>

The rapid growth of the Alliance in Whitman County, the leading Alliance county in the state, by mid-year of 1890, may be inferred from a news item telling of a "big 4th of July celebration at Garfield, under auspices of the Farmers' Alliance, with an enormous picnic. Shortly after daylight people began coming by the wagonloads from all the adjoining country, and four or five thousand people were present."<sup>20</sup>

By late summer of 1890, the Alliance movement had spread westward across the state into new counties that had been organized only a few years. "On July 12th a Lincoln County Alliance was organized with eight locals represented."<sup>21</sup> Alliance organizers were busy as far west as Douglas County, from which it was reported there was "a large attendance of farmers at the courthouse of Douglas County, Waterville, to organize a subordinate [county] Farmers' Alliance."<sup>22</sup>

When the second annual convention of the state Northwestern Alliance met in Oakesdale, November 27, 1890, "150 delegates and 100 visitors were in attendance, coming from Whitman, Spokane,

<sup>14</sup> May 2, 1890.

<sup>15</sup> April 4, 1890.

<sup>16</sup> June 13, 1890.

<sup>17</sup> June 20, 1890, from *Walla Walla Statesman*, June 11, 1890.

<sup>18</sup> June 20, 1890, from *Pomeroy Independent*, June 12, 1890.

<sup>19</sup> July 4, 1890, from *Dayton Chronicle* (date not given).

<sup>20</sup> July 11, 1890.

<sup>21</sup> August 1, 1890.

<sup>22</sup> August 8, 1890.

Walla Walla, Columbia, Garfield, and Lincoln Counties."<sup>23</sup>

Organizers for the state Northwestern Alliance seem to have speeded up their activities even more during the latter half of 1890 and the first half of 1891. The *Colfax Commoner*, which carried a list of local Alliances by counties on its Alliance page, gave the following number of local units for the various counties in the state as of July, 1891: Whitman, 50; Spokane, 25; Lincoln, 22; Garfield, 17; Walla Walla, 15; Columbia, 11; Klickitat, 9; Snohomish, 7; Stevens, 6; Douglas, 4; Kittitas, 4; Asotin, 3; Adams, 3; Kitsap, 2; Chehalis (now Lewis), 2; Yakima, 2; Pierce, 1; a total of 183 local units.<sup>24</sup>

President G. D. Sutton, addressing the Lincoln County Alliance in November, 1890, stated that "the Alliance [the Northwestern] in Washington has 260 local organizations, containing some 10,000 voters."<sup>25</sup> These figures seem to the writer to be somewhat exaggerated. When the third annual convention of the state Alliance was held in Dayton in the latter part of November of that year, 150 delegates were reported in attendance, the same number as in the previous year at Oakesdale.<sup>26</sup>

*Rivalry of the Two Alliances for Membership.*—With the rapid expansion of both the Northwestern and the Southern Alliances, it was inevitable that the two national organizations would cross paths and become rivals in the state of Washington. Attempts to unite the two national organizations at St. Louis in 1889 had failed. By the early part of 1890 the organizers of the two Alliances were coming into increasing contacts in Washington, as they began to cover common territory in the eastern part of the state, in competition for farmer membership. Friction and animosities began to develop between the leaders of the two organizations. So keen was the competition that questions began to be raised by the local and county lay members, as to "why the two Alliances in the State of Washington did not unite and work together rather than in opposition to each other." Early in the year, J. W. Arrasmith, Secretary of the state Northwestern Alliance, was instructed to write the national President of that organization about attempts that had been made to unite the Northwestern and Southern Alliances at the national level.

<sup>23</sup> December 5, 1890.

<sup>24</sup> July 31, 1891.

<sup>25</sup> November 20, 1891.

<sup>26</sup> November 20, 1891.



In March Secretary Arrasmith issued a statement by National Secretary Post of the Northwest Alliance that there was "no agreement upon which the National Farmers' Alliance can unite with the Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union. The only way is for the National Farmers' Alliance to disband and be absorbed state by state by the Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union."<sup>27</sup> There was no prospect, of course, that the Washington Northwestern Alliance, which was older and much stronger in the state than the Washington Southern Alliance, would disband and go over to the latter. But as the rivalry of the two Washington Alliances increased throughout 1890, the delegates to the second annual state meeting of the Washington Northwestern Alliance instructed their delegate to the forthcoming national convention, soon to be held, "to use every effort to secure consolidation with the farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union."<sup>28</sup>

In February, 1891, one J. M. Smith of Whitman County, who later became a Southern Alliance organizer, wrote an article for the Alliance page of the *Commoner* on "Consolidation." He first recalled that the Washington Northwestern Alliance had gone on record favoring the union of the national Alliances. Then he continued at length:

There are now two or three Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union organizers in Washington. They have already organized a local at Garfield with 22 members from the National Farmers' Alliance [Northwestern]. It seems that we are to be swallowed up in the progress being made by the Industrial Union. Thirty-six states it has already, and New York and Wisconsin expected shortly. Organization is going on in Iowa and Oregon. California is in the Industrial Union with fourteen counties and 20,000 members. The prospects are dim for extending our jurisdiction on the coast, and will be forestalled in our State and Idaho by disintegration in our ranks. We cannot build up in new territory while our work is pulled down in two locals existing in the old.

He closed his article by calling on all Alliance members to meet in Pullman to consider consolidation.<sup>29</sup>

At the Pullman meeting, apparently attended by more Southern than Northwestern Alliance members, the following statement on union and consolidation was agreed to and given to the press:

Believing that one of the necessities of the hour is closer union of the different industrial organizations already in existence, for the purpose of aiding and assisting in the organization and protection of labor, and to carry

<sup>27</sup> March 11, 1890.

<sup>28</sup> December 5, 1890.

<sup>29</sup> February 27, 1891.

into effect the principles of such organization; such as the establishment of produce exchanges, warehouses, flour mills, and other cooperative enterprises; more closely guard the legislative interests of all producers, and to advance the interest and welfare of all producers in every way possible, we recommend that a state organization be formed for these purposes and designed as the State Confederation of Industrial Organizations.<sup>30</sup>

The first meeting of the Confederated organization was announced to be held in Oakesdale, May 19, 1891. The writer has found no record, however, that the meeting was ever held.

So the rivalry and the animosity of the leaders of the two Washington Alliances continued. In May, 1891, President G. D. Sutton of the Washington Northwestern Alliance gave out a statement that "the Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union has no connection whatever with the Washington State Farmers' Alliance [Northwestern]. Their organizers have promised many times not to try to disorganize any Farmers' Alliance locals." He protested strongly against any attempts to disrupt the Northwestern Alliance in the state and the counties in which it was already organized.<sup>31</sup>

But there was no cessation of the rivalry. In June of 1891, organizers of the two Alliances crossed over the Cascades and began organizing locals in the west-side counties. Whereas organizers for the Northwestern Alliance were concentrating their efforts in Chehalis County (now Lewis County), organizers of the Southern Alliance were operating chiefly in Pierce and King Counties.<sup>32</sup> By midsummer, the state leader of the Southern Alliance, Ira Manring, reported that "work was rapidly progressing" in his organization, that "40 locals had been organized covering six counties," and that "a state organization would be perfected next month."<sup>33</sup>

As the competition and rivalry of the two Alliances sharpened, some members of the Northwestern Alliance became alarmed and began to discuss ways and means of stopping Southern Alliance organizers from taking away their members. At a meeting of the Lincoln County Northwestern Alliance, held at Davenport in early November, 1891, the question of admitting members of the Southern Alliance and Industrial Union was taken up and discussed.

It was the general opinion of the delegates that no one could be a member of the National Farmers' Alliance who was not a practical and operating

<sup>30</sup> March 6, 1891.

<sup>31</sup> May 8, 1891.

<sup>32</sup> June 12, 1891.

<sup>33</sup> July 24, 1891.

farmer, and gave his hearty support to the building up of the order in preference to the Southern Alliance and Industrial Union.

Much evidence was adduced by the delegates from all parts of the county to show that organizers of the Industrial Union had grossly misrepresented facts in order to induce members of the Farmers' Alliance [Northwestern] to join their organization. It was proven that doctors, merchants, and mechanics were admitted to procure a sufficient number to establish a local.

A resolution was passed to give all who had joined the Industrial Union through misrepresentation [the opportunity] to investigate and return to the Farmers' Alliance<sup>34</sup>

A few days later President G. D. Sutton of the state Northwestern Alliance, at a meeting of the Spokane County Alliance, again took up the cudgels against the organizers of the Southern Alliance. He denounced these organizers and even threatened their arrest:

These men, owning not a foot of land themselves, have been passing as farmers, and in the interest of the Southern Alliance and Industrial Union . . . have been representing themselves as bona fide representatives of the Farmers' Alliance and under such misrepresentation have been obtaining money from farmers. We propose to go about the country gathering evidence from farmers on this point, and if the charge be borne out by testimony, warrants will be issued for arrest of the offenders.

And following this denunciation of the Southern Alliance organizers, the Spokane County Alliance

Resolved, That a committee of three, with G. D. Sutton, President of the State Alliance, as chairman, investigate the conduct of Ira Manring of Garfield, Burns and Hoffman of Spokane County, and Smith of Whitman County, who are charged with attempting to disorganize the local branches of the National Alliance and of obtaining money from farmers under false pretense.<sup>35</sup>

But Southern Alliance organizers could not be deterred from continuing their aggressive organization activities in counties that were even strongholds of the Northwestern Alliance. Early in February, 1892, one J. A. Helman, assistant state lecturer and organizer for the Southern Alliance, invaded Whitman County, the strongest Northwestern Alliance county in the state, and announced shortly, that "seven local branches had already been formed in Whitman County" and that he "expected to organize ten more during the next few weeks."<sup>36</sup>

<sup>34</sup> November 20, 1891.

<sup>35</sup> *Columbia Chronicle*, November 14, 1891, from *Spokane Spokesman*, November 11, 1891.

<sup>36</sup> February 5, 1892.

The growing influence and the headway in organization made by the Southern Alliance in the state were shown by actions of the editor of the *Colfax Commoner*, long-time supporter and powerful promoter of the Northwestern Alliance in Whitman County and throughout southeastern Washington. In its issue of February 12, 1892, the *Commoner* on its Alliance page—even in the same column—carried for the first time the names of the county, state, and national officers of both the Northwestern and the Southern Alliances. In the same issue of the *Commoner*, the editor wrote:

There is a possibility of the Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union superseding the old Alliance in Whitman County, as it has done already in many other counties and states. The Union is spreading rapidly under half a dozen organizers and lecturers now engaged in the county . . . There is but little difference in the two organizations, and the widespread popularity of the Union seems to confirm the opinion which has been expressed by many that it will eventually succeed in drawing to its influence the support of the old Alliance which will give way to a stronger organization.<sup>87</sup> Then for three successive weeks the *Commoner* published in full the famous Ocala Demands, the platform adopted by the Southern Alliance at its annual meeting, in Ocala, Florida, in December, 1891.<sup>88</sup>

In its issue of April 15, 1892, the *Commoner*, on its Alliance page, listed thirty-eight local lodges of the Southern Alliance in Whitman County, as against fifty for the Northwestern Alliance. The fact that the list of Southern Alliance locals in Whitman County included No. 205 shows that the Southern Alliance had more than two hundred locals in the state.<sup>89</sup> Accordingly, by the time the Alliance movement was reaching its crest in the state, the Southern Alliance was rapidly approaching equality of membership with the older Northwestern Alliance.

## II. FARMERS' PLIGHT AND GRIEVANCES

*Seekers of the Fair Land.*—It was paradoxical that a strong farmers' movement growing almost entirely out of grievances and discontent should take hold in eastern Washington in the late 1880's. This part of the state was one of the richest wheat sections in the United States. It was a "fair land" in many respects. A Tennessee immigrant, who had taken up farming in Whitman County, wrote back to his old home town paper, the *Huntingdon West Tennessee*

<sup>87</sup> February 12, 1892.

<sup>88</sup> February 12, 19, and 26, 1892.

<sup>89</sup> April 15, 1892.

*Leader*, giving a glowing account of the new country to which he had come and urging his old neighbors to join him:

The more I see of this country, the better I like it. It is, beyond doubt, the place for young men to make their start. Provisions are moderate and wages are high. A common farm hand demands \$20 a month and board, and are not easy to get.

Towns are springing up like mushrooms and railroads are being built all over the land. The newspapers of Washington Territory are telling of the fortune here in store for you, if you will only accept, and yet, my farmer friends, you seem to prefer to remain on those poor, and worn out red sand hills of yours, which no doubt cost you, or some of you as much as \$40 an acre, and be content with a wheat yield of 12 bushels to the acre as against 45 to 60 bushels to the acre.

The writer closed his article telling his old farmer neighbors back in Tennessee that the rich farming lands in eastern Washington had "gone up from almost nothing to \$30 an acre in five years."<sup>40</sup>

In February of 1889, an eastern Washington paper stated that "Washington territory is to receive the greatest number of immigrants ever in 1889. Thousands of acres of land await their coming."<sup>41</sup> Again in the spring of 1890 the same paper informed its readers that the railroads were expecting "a big immigration into the State"; that "the army of homeseekers must be attracted this way"; that the Northern Pacific and the Union Pacific Railroads would "put on extra service to accommodate the newcomers"; and that the two great transcontinental railroads would "increase the population of the state at a very rapid rate indeed."<sup>42</sup>

With the coming of the two great transcontinental railroads into the Northwest and the state of Washington, immigrant travel had been made easy. The railroad companies advertised Washington Territory as a frontier area where rich farming land could still be homesteaded or purchased for a few dollars an acre. Immigrants who had already settled in the Territory wrote back to kinsmen and neighbors and urged them to sell out and join them in the "last free west." The new immigrants came with strong hopes that they would soon prosper with the development of the country. Many hopeful homeseekers, however, were soon disappointed, and some embittered,

<sup>40</sup> January 27, 1888, quoting extracts from the letter to the Tennessee paper.

<sup>41</sup> February 8, 1889.

<sup>42</sup> March 21, 1890.

when their fair dreams failed to materialize, as a result of economic and political situations over which they had little or no control.

*Grievances of the Farmers—General.*—Washington agriculture during the late 1880's, however, was undergoing the same economic adversities that had befallen American agriculture in general. Farmers of the South, Middle West, Far West, and the state of Washington had many grievances which encouraged them to join the Alliances. These general grievances were (1) declining agricultural prices for the major staple farm products, (2) high freight rates, (3) secret agreements between railroads and elevators for shipping rebates, (4) corruption of lawmakers by the railroads, (5) aggressive abuses by the land-grant railroads in getting possession of great quantities of land and keeping settlers from the use of this land, (6) speculation in farm products and manipulation of agricultural exchange markets, (7) price-fixing by monopolies of products sold and purchased by farmers, (8) heavy farm indebtedness and high interest rates, (9) protective tariffs disadvantageous to farmers, (10) high taxes on farm property, (11) an appreciating dollar and scarcity of money, and (12) a banking system that failed to serve the legitimate interests of the farmers.<sup>43</sup>

*Declining Prices.*—From 1882 to 1887, the price of wheat on the Chicago market declined from \$1.18 to 76c per bushel. The wheat market the country over, in fact the world over, was dull and heavy. Large wheat supplies—due to more efficient production, extension of new wheat areas, and improved transportation—were clogging the wheat markets of western Europe, the wheat-deficit area which determined the price of commercial wheat for the entire world. The price of other grains also declined with the fall in the price of wheat.<sup>44</sup>

In January of 1888, when the first local Alliances began to be organized in Whitman County, the price of wheat, the main commercial crop of eastern Washington, was 48c a bushel.<sup>45</sup> A Whitman County farmer—writing a letter in March of that year to the editor

<sup>43</sup> The plight of farmers and their grievances during this period have been set forth at length in J. D. Hicks, *op. cit.*, Chaps. I-III; Anna Rochester, *op. cit.*, Chaps. 1-5; F. A. Shannon, *The Farmer's Lost Frontier* (New York, 1945), Chaps. VII, VIII, X, XIII; *Yearbook of Agriculture 1940—Farmers in a Changing World* (Washington, 1940), pp. 221-266; W. A. Peffer, *The Farmer's Side* (New York, 1891).

<sup>44</sup> J. D. Hicks, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-58; Thorstein Veblen, "The Price of Wheat Since 1867," *Journal of Political Economy*, I (1892), 70-103.

<sup>45</sup> January 13, 1888.

of the *Colfax Commoner*, listing grievances and handicaps of the farmers, and citing farmers' expenses of production—complained, "This leaves the farmer a net of about 35c per bushel for his labor and expenses raising grain."<sup>46</sup> From 1884 to 1892 the average export price of wheat per bushel declined from about \$1.00 to 80c.<sup>47</sup> But because of the heavy freight charges on the shipment of wheat from eastern Washington points to seaboard or Minneapolis and Chicago markets, ranging from 25c to 35c a bushel, and always deducted from the export price, the farmers of this inland area felt this decline in the price of their main source of income more keenly than the farmers of any other part of the country.

In March of 1888, a Whitman County farmer addressed the following letter to the readers of the *Colfax Commoner*, showing how little farmers were getting for their grain:

But, let us see what condition is here under the present rate of freight. We can show that our fields are immensely fertile, that there can be raised 30 to 60 bushels of wheat to the acre, and other grains in proportion. But what profit does it yield to the farmer? Is it such that he is prosperous, out of debt, and living comfortably? . . . But such is not the case. In the first place it costs 20c per bushel to get our grain to market, which is, it takes one-third of all that can be raised, or in other words, the farmer is paying \$6 per acre on every acre of grain he raises to the railroad company to have it taken 300 miles to market. This leaves the farmer a net of about 35c per bushel for labor and expenses of raising grain. With this he can barely live, if he has a good crop every year.<sup>48</sup>

*High Freight Rates.*—A long-standing grievance of the farmers of eastern Washington was the failure of the Territorial Legislature to reduce freight rates by law. Early in 1888, a Whitman County editor, always sympathetic with the problems of the farmer, complained: "Although the legislature is half over it has as yet passed no measure for the relief of the people from excessive freight charges which they are compelled to pay."<sup>49</sup>

Two months later a farmer, denouncing the Territorial Legislature in the columns of the *Colfax Commoner* for its failure to give relief to the farmers by reducing freight rates, concluded his letter by calling for action: "But shall we be forever ground down by the enormous freights and all our industries paralyzed? I say no! If the people with one united voice protest against it, we will get it.

<sup>46</sup> March 2, 1888.

<sup>47</sup> *Pullman Herald*, April 20, 1894.

<sup>48</sup> March 2, 1888.

<sup>49</sup> January 20, 1888.

If not one way then by another. United we will conquer; divided we must submit to their robberies."<sup>50</sup> Eastern Washington farmers, knowing they were practically helpless in obtaining remedial action as individuals, saw in the new Alliances a possible means for effective joint action.

In the general election of 1890, two years before the Alliances had organized themselves into what became virtually an independent agrarian political party, R. C. McCroskey, a leading Alliance man in Whitman County and a strong Democrat, was elected State Senator, largely because he had been endorsed by the county Alliance. Senator McCroskey and other members of the Legislature, with the backing of the Alliance, passed what was known as the Wasson railroad bill, which fixed maximum freight rates that could be charged and reduced the existing rates by 25 per cent.<sup>51</sup> When Senator McCroskey returned to his home after the close of the legislative session, he proudly and gleefully gave out a statement that the bill would save Whitman County farmers alone over \$300,000.<sup>52</sup> But by the end of another week farmers in Whitman County and all over eastern Washington were disappointed and enraged by Acting Governor Laughton's vetoing of the bill on the grounds (1) that it was class legislation and, was therefore, unconstitutional; (2) that it would force the railroads to violate the state constitution by fixing discriminatory rates in favor of farmers and against other shippers; (3) that the then existing rates were reasonable; and (4) that the Federal Congress had already established the Interstate Commerce Commission to deal with rates and, therefore, made such a state law unnecessary.<sup>53</sup>

This action on the part of the Acting Governor brought a storm of protest from farmers and local newspapers over all eastern Washington. For almost a decade farmers had sought relief from high freight rates. The defeat of their prolonged efforts by a veto of the bill their spokesmen had put through the Legislature convinced them that they must continue their struggle for freight-rate relief. The Alliances were the best agencies available for collective action. Thousands of farmers who had hesitated to join the Alliances now became members.

<sup>50</sup> March 2, 1888.

<sup>51</sup> *Columbia Chronicle*, March 7, 1891.

<sup>52</sup> March 20, 1891.

<sup>53</sup> *Columbia Chronicle*, March 21, 1891.



*Blockade of Wheat Shipments.*—Another grievance of the farmers against the railroads that contributed to the growth of the Alliances was the "wheat blockade" of the fall and winter of 1890-91. When the wheat crop in eastern Washington was being harvested in the late summer and early fall and farmers were hauling wheat to the warehouses for shipment, a blockade at the railroad shipping points occurred. The railroad companies declared they were unable to furnish cars in adequate numbers for shipping the wheat. The elevators, completely filled and unable to make shipments, resisted or refused to buy and receive the farmers' wheat. This blockade caused great irritation among the farmers who could not sell their wheat and pay off loans then due at the banks. The farmers held the railroad and the elevators solely responsible for their predicament. The Whitman County Alliance took the lead in protesting against the railroads. In a session, at Pullman, in late December, with 150 delegates in attendance from all parts of the country, the farmers, after "two hours of stormy speeches and denunciation of the railroads and elevators of the Palouse Country, passed the following resolutions:

Whereas the Northern Pacific and the Union Pacific Railroads have neglected to provide transportation facilities for grain shipment and as a consequence the price of wheat is depressed to a figure below actual cost of production,

Resolved, that two committees of five each be appointed to demand of the Union Pacific and the Northern Pacific as common carriers to furnish cars immediately and not delay them by worthless promises.

Resolved, that we demand of the ensuing legislature the establishment of a railroad commission clothed with power to regulate freights and fares, such commission to be composed of three persons elected by popular votes.

Resolved, that we appeal to the press of Washington, daily and weekly, to assist us in our fight against a merciless repression and that we appreciate the work done by the Spokane Falls *Review* in publishing full and complete information regarding the wheat blockade in eastern Washington.<sup>44</sup>

*Failure to Get Railroad Commission.*—Farmers' concern about their relations with the railroads, a concern which was probably the most important single cause of the rapid rise of the Alliances in Washington, was shown by the calling of a People's Convention at Palouse City, in May of 1889, to nominate delegates to be elected as Whitman County members of the State Constitutional Convention. There was so much distrust of the two old political parties,

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<sup>44</sup> *Columbia Chronicle*, January 3, 1891.

lest members of the State Convention nominated by them fail to represent the desires of the farmers in regard to the control of railroads, that this People's Convention was called to make known their constitutional demands with respect to railroad control, and to nominate candidates for election who would work to have their demands incorporated into the new State Constitution. At this convention, resolutions were passed favoring a constitutional provision for (1) "election of a people's board of railroad commissioners to fix rates of transportation of railroad corporations"; (2) "prohibition of formation of trusts and combines"; and (3) permission for "the leasing of school lands for 20 years."<sup>55</sup>

The continued anxiety of eastern Washington farmers about getting a state constitution that would adequately protect their interests can be seen in the action of the "central organization of the Whitman County Farmers' Alliance" in June of 1889, which passed resolutions (1) viewing "with alarm the granting of railroad subsidies by creating bonded indebtedness"; (2) requesting the forthcoming constitutional convention to adopt a provision to "prevent the state from lending its credit to any individual, association or company, or to become a stock holder in any corporation, association or company"; and (3) constitutional provisions (a) for giving "the legislature authority to prevent discrimination by transportation companies," (b) for "an elective Supreme Court," (c) for requiring "equal and uniform assessment of classes of property," (d) for "the prevention of trusts," and (e) for "the prevention of watering railroad stock."<sup>56</sup>

The biggest fight in the state constitutional convention was for an *elective* as opposed to an *appointive* railroad commission. The farmers feared that their interests would not be safely protected unless such an elective commission were provided for in the constitution. Most of the Democrats in the convention and all the Alliance or People's representatives argued for and stood out for such a provision in the constitution.<sup>57</sup> But they were defeated by the opposition.

The Whitman County Democratic convention meeting in September, 1889, after the state constitutional convention had adjourned, and with many Alliance members in the county conven-

<sup>55</sup> May 16, 1889.

<sup>56</sup> July 5, 1889.

<sup>57</sup> August 9, 1889.

tion, "condemned the Republican constitutional convention for refusing to establish a constitutional provision for a board of railroad commissioners to be elected by the people."<sup>58</sup>

The disappointment of eastern Washington farmers in not getting a state constitutional provision for an elective railroad commission was shown in the strong opposition of a number of eastern Washington counties to ratification of the new constitution in the fall of 1889, when it was submitted to the people for a popular vote. The vote in these counties was as follows: Walla Walla, 996 for to 1422 against; Columbia, 468 for to 730 against; Garfield, 342 for to 551 against; Asotin, 83 for to 201 against; and Whitman, 2040 for to 1732 against.<sup>59</sup> Their failure to get an elective railroad commission long remained a major grievance of eastern Washington farmers.

*Lieu Land Litigation.*—An old festering grievance of eastern Washington farmers was the prolonged litigation between the Northern Pacific Railroad and farmers in southeastern Washington over lieu lands. This controversy greatly contributed to the farmers' animosity against the railroads, and stimulated them to join the Alliances for collective action and protection. In 1864, when Congress granted the Northern Pacific Railroad all odd-numbered sections of land within a strip twenty miles wide in the states and forty miles wide in the territories along its track from St. Paul, Minnesota, to the Puget Sound on the Pacific Coast, it was not anticipated that settlers in the territories would go ahead of the railroads and take up homesteads and preemption claims before the railroad could have lands to which it was entitled withdrawn from settlement. When it was found that many settlers had already occupied railroad land, Congress, to compensate the railroad for its losses to settlers, passed an act granting the railroad other land, lieu land, to be selected by the railroad, within a strip of ten miles on each side of the original grant. The situation was further complicated by the fact that the railroad twice changed its maps of route of definite location in Washington Territory. In making its selections of odd-numbered sections within the strips on each side of its line of definite location, the railroad laid claims to many lands already occupied and improved

<sup>58</sup> September 6, 1889.

<sup>59</sup> *Illustrated History of Southeastern Washington* (Spokane, 1906), pp. 189, 400, 560, 718; and *History of Whitman County* (1901), p. 136.

by bona fide settlers. Many years of litigation followed between the railroad company and the settlers. Although a test case had been won by a Whitman County settler, the company did not give up, but continued to harass settlers by further litigation. The effect of their lengthy litigation over lieu land, tenaciously and stubbornly pressed by the company, was to array farmers of south-eastern Washington almost solidly against the railroad. When Alliance leaders in this part of the Territory, during 1888 and 1889, directed their attacks against the railroads, farmers flocked into the new organization partly out of their animosity against the Northern Pacific Railroad for its persistence in trying to dislodge settlers from their lands.<sup>60</sup>

Many meetings of farmers were held to discuss and protest the actions of the Northern Pacific Railroad in regard to the lieu lands. At a big mass meeting of farmers of Whitman County, in March of 1888, the company was accused of "delaying its actions in the lieu land cases, so as to force the farmers to purchase their lieu lands." The farmers protested that they "have long since earned their farms by rigid and literal compliance with the land laws of the government of the United States."<sup>61</sup>

*Possession of Land by Railroads.*—Another grievance of eastern Washington farmers against the railroads was their feeling that the railroad companies were getting possession of great blocks of land of the public domain, which they were holding for speculative purposes and depriving farmers of the purchase of those public lands at reasonable prices. In June of 1890, the Whitman County Alliance "Resolved, That we favor reserving the public domain to actual settlers, and are strenuously opposed to the granting of any more land by the government corporations; and also favor the taking of legal steps to declare forfeited all land grants not earned by a strict compliance by the grantee with every consideration on which the grants were made."<sup>62</sup> A few weeks later the newly organized Lincoln County Alliance also "Resolved, That steps be taken to forfeit land grants to railroads not yet earned," and further "Resolved, That repeal be made

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<sup>60</sup> This prolonged lieu land litigation is explained in G. W. Fuller, *A History of the Pacific Northwest* (New York, 1931), p. 321; and in *History of Whitman County* (1901), Chap. XVIII.

<sup>61</sup> March 16, 1888.

<sup>62</sup> June 27, 1890.

of all laws granting appropriations of public lands for building any railroad where not entered upon."<sup>63</sup>

*Monopolies and Trusts.*—A deep-felt grievance of farmers in most parts of the United States and in the state of Washington in the late 1880's and the early 1890's was the belief that they were being ground down to poverty between great monopolies and trusts that fixed the prices of the products they sold as well as the prices of the fabricated products they bought. At its first Territorial meeting in February, 1889, the Washington Northwestern Alliance Resolved, That the fundamental teaching of this great body of agriculturists declares that monopoly in all its forms is a usurpation of popular rights, and a foe of the spirit of the constitution; and that we as an organization are acting, operating, independent of partisan restraints, but appreciate the honest work of officials who are opposing monopolies and work for the interest of the people and to this end we have occasion to look with pleasure upon the present management of the interior department of our government, and see with profound congratulations that Secretary Vilas rules against corporations [in lieu land cases] with the same degree of integrity that he does against individual frauds, and in favor of the honest settler.<sup>64</sup>

At its March meeting, 1889, the Whitman County Northwestern Alliance denounced another monopoly, "the twine trust, to which all Whitman County farmers are forced to pay tribute."<sup>65</sup>

At the monthly meeting in December of 1889, this same Alliance charged that "the formation of trusts and combinations for fixing prices and limiting production are in large degree responsible for the depression now seriously affecting agriculture." And they endorsed an impending state Senate bill "making such combinations unlawful."<sup>66</sup>

At the beginning of 1890, the editor of the *Colfax Commoner*, speaking for the causes of the farmers and strongly supporting the Alliance, in a lengthy editorial, harangued his farmer and Alliance readers against big business, trusts, and monopolies and urged them to "concerted" action:

The need is to oppose great corporations, monopolies and trusts that are combining for the sole purpose of compelling the great mass of producers to pay a high price for the many necessities which they must buy.

Between these mighty combinations must the farmer not necessarily be crushed, without some concert of action on their part? Yet we realize

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<sup>63</sup> August 1, 1890.

<sup>64</sup> February 15, 1889.

<sup>65</sup> March 29, 1889.

<sup>66</sup> January 3, 1890.

such action is hard and beset with many difficulties. The very individual independence of farmers is, in the present condition of things, a disadvantage. It exposes them to fraud, robbery, deception and apprehension. They live so far apart that, although there is a community of interest between them, there is no concerted action. Not so with the great manufacturers and corporations, who can meet at three day's notice and agree upon some line of action. Farmers can do this only by organization and representation, for reasons that at once become apparent.

The farmers constitute a great majority of the population of this country, and hold the governing power within their own hands, but this power can be wielded only by thorough organization in every locality, with representation from each local organization to central ones, and from there to one grand national centre. We say such organization is essential, for in their present unorganized relations, this vast army of producers are the victims of every combine, or trust, formed and being formed. It is they who must pay the lion's share of the cost of the special favors enjoyed by other vocations, and it is they who are receiving a less proportion of the rapid increase of wealth made in this great republic.<sup>67</sup>

In February, 1890, an individual farmer and Alliance member, writing to the Colfax *Commoner* on the farmers' grievances against big business and monopolies, urged all farmers to join the Alliance for self-protection "simply because they have become the prey of all the classes. The wealth of the workers is flowing from them into the hands of the wealthy, farmers threatened with poverty and slavery, a few people absorbing the wealth."<sup>68</sup> Collective action through the Alliance promised a way out.

The mounting animosity of eastern Washington farmers against big business was again shown in the action taken by the Political Committee of the Whitman County Alliance in June, 1890, when it Resolved, That farmers, together with all other producers, should exert the political influence of their great numerical strength to thwart the increasing danger to the individual and the public interests which comes from the unrestrained greed of the influential anarchist who defies law, and tramples upon the principles of justice in his methods of acquiring the wealth that others create, and the less influential, less successful, but more demonstrative anarchist, who through speech and dynamite boldly proclaims his contempt for law, order, government, human life and individual rights.<sup>69</sup>

*Speculation in Farm Products.*—Closely related to grievances over monopolies was the farmers' dislike of speculation in farm products in the great produce markets and exchanges. Many farm-

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<sup>67</sup> January 3, 1890.

<sup>68</sup> February 14, 1890.

<sup>69</sup> June 27, 1890.

ers believed that the buying and selling of "options" and "futures" depressed the prices they received. For many years certain groups of farmers had urged governmental regulation and control of speculative activities on the exchanges, to prevent manipulation of prices disadvantageous to farmers. In the first half of 1890, there was wide discussion among the Alliances of southeastern Washington of a bill that had been introduced in the Congress, the Butterworth Bill, which defined "options" and "futures" and imposed a special tax on speculative dealers. In June of that year, the Walla Walla County Farmers' Alliance passed a resolution that "we urge and request senators and representatives to support and use their best efforts to enact into law 'the Butterworth Option Bill' to give farmers relief from one of the most destructive and debasing causes of their pitiable condition."<sup>70</sup>

*Mortgages and High Interest Rates.*—Heavy mortgage indebtedness among eastern Washington farmers and high rates of interest paid to mortgage holders was another grievance that caused farmers in this section of the state to seek relief through collective action in the Alliances. A special volume of the Eleventh Census of the United States (1890) titled *Report on Farms and Homes: Proprietorship and Indebtedness* shows the following percentage of farms encumbered by mortgages, the percentage of encumbrance of the value of farms, and the annual rate of interest paid on these mortgages, by farmers in seven counties of southeastern Washington<sup>71</sup>:

County	Percentage of Farms Encumbered	Percentage Encumbrance of Value of Farms	Rate of Interest Paid
Asotin	42.6	36.4	10.6
Columbia	48.9	34.8	9.3
Garfield	69.3	38.2	10.3
Lincoln	33.2	31.4	10.3
Spokane	29.9	26.0	9.9
Walla Walla	41.8	38.2	9.5
Whitman	27.9	33.0	10.1

This mortgage indebtedness had generally been contracted when the price of wheat was from 50 to 75 per cent higher than it was when the debts became due. Hence this indebtedness became a great

<sup>70</sup> June 20, 1890.

<sup>71</sup> The volume, pp. 283, 417-418, 464 (Washington, 1896).

burden on many of the struggling, pioneer farmers, from whose decreasing incomes an increasing proportion had to go to the payment of mortgage principal and interest.

The bitterness over mortgage indebtedness felt by some of the farmers was expressed in a letter in defense of "The Doctrines of the Alliance," in which the writer acidly wrote: "Class legislation in the interest of a non-producing Shylock class of usury suckers covers the whole ground of the farmers' troubles. Their battle is against all this and in favor of just laws, honesty, and equity in governmental affairs as well as private life."<sup>72</sup>

*High Official Salaries and Taxes.*—High county and state salaries and high taxes constituted another grievance of the farmers. The Whitman County Farmers' Alliance at its June meeting in 1890 "Resolved, That all officials of our government should be elected by direct vote of the people, and that official salaries should be so adjusted as to more nearly harmonize with the price of honest labor."<sup>73</sup>

Because the prices of the Washington farmers' products continued to decline in 1890 and 1891, and farmers found it increasingly difficult to pay their taxes, the feeling arose that government costs and taxes were far too high and much out of line with the prices farmers were receiving for their products and their ability to pay taxes. President G. D. Sutton, addressing the annual convention of the state Northwestern Alliance in November of 1891, said: "Most important just now is a reduction of county officers' salaries. The counties are paying men \$3000 a year who could make only \$1000 in private capacities." And before the state convention adjourned, it adopted a resolution charging that "salaries and perquisites of county officers are exorbitant."<sup>74</sup>

*Scarcity of Money.*—A final grievance, and what came to be the most deep-felt grievance in the early 1890's, rallying farmers to the Alliance banner, was the scarcity—the appreciation—of money. The farmers needed nothing so much, nor found it so hard to get, as money. For many years western pioneering farmers, struggling to get a start in farming and in debt to eastern creditors, agitated for more money, "soft" money in the form of greenbacks or other paper currency. As money appreciated from 1870 to 1890, debtor

<sup>72</sup> *Columbia Chronicle*, April 4, 1891.

<sup>73</sup> June 27, 1890.

<sup>74</sup> November 27, 1891.



farmers had to pay larger and larger quantities of grain, live-stock, and live-stock products to pay off their debts. They came to believe that bankers, moneyed urban interests, Wall Street, and governmental officials were somehow acting jointly or even "conspiring" to limit, restrict, and decrease the amount of circulating medium to enhance creditors and depress debtors.<sup>75</sup>

After 1890 both of the national Alliances and their Washington state sub-Alliances gave increasing attention to money problems. State, county, and local Alliance meetings devoted more attention to the discussion of currency and banking questions than to any other. The coinage of silver became the leading money issue. At their national meetings in St. Louis in December of 1889, the two great Alliances, in their published demands, devoted about three-fourths of their space to the money and banking question.<sup>76</sup> These demands were relayed back to all the state, county, and local Alliances. Here were organizations that had finally come to grip with what farmers had come to believe was the most serious problem affecting their welfare. As two old Alliance members explained to the writer, in practically the same words, "Just about everybody joined the Alliance when the silver question got hot." The issue was simple to the hard-pressed, debt-ridden farmers: free coinage of silver would put more money in circulation; \$50 per capita of circulating medium would make it possible for farmers to get more money, which they wanted and needed more than anything else.

*Farmers' Champions.*—As the two Alliances in Washington mushroomed to their largest growth, several editors in close contact with them undertook to explain the causes of their rapid rise. The editor of the *Colfax Commoner* wrote:

The simple fact is, that the present discontent is the legitimate outgrowth of the educational work of the last generation. The people are beginning to understand economic laws. Education has developed the belief that the producer of wealth is entitled to the wealth he produces, and has developed intelligence enough to show he does not get it.... The Alliance has arisen where the farmers are the most intelligent.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Financial grievances of debtor farmers and financial policies of the period are discussed in A. D. Noyes, *Forty Years of American Finance* (New York, 1909); D. R. Dewey, *Financial History of the United States* (New York, 1903), Chaps. XIV-XIX; and H. U. Faulkner, *American Economic History*, 5th Ed. (New York, 1943), Chap. 25.

<sup>76</sup> J. D. Hicks, *op. cit.*, Appendix A.

<sup>77</sup> September 4, 1891.

Two months later the same editor became more specific and somewhat political about the farmers' ills:

The rapid concentration of wealth into the hands of the favored few, the unequal distribution of taxation which burdens the poor and the masses and relieves the rich and the classes are conditions which confront the American people today and demand their attention.

All this, and more, have given rise to organizations amongst the various representations of labor (agriculturists and wage laborers). A dozen organizations, strong and invincible have sprung up to battle against a common foe.

The editor, in closing his editorial, strongly urged the Democratic Party, for which his paper spoke, to

take up the causes of the farmers and the industrial workers who are joining with the farmers, and become the champion of the rights of those aggrieved in the spirit of the principles of Jefferson and Jackson.<sup>18</sup>

A west-side country newspaper editor, residing in a section of the state (Chehalis County, now Lewis County) where the Southern Alliance was much stronger than in eastern Washington, and explaining the rapid rise of the Alliance, only varied the explanation:

The Alliance has come because it is needed. It is an outgrowth of the times. It may not be here to stay, but it is here to accomplish a reform. It is an organization of the men who by the sweat of their brows and the hard labor of their hands, produce the wealth of the county. It is an organization intended to right the wrongs these men have suffered at the hands of politicians and monopolists. They want redress and they stand for their own protection in the future. They may not be statesmen and philosophers, but they have a just cause and a right purpose.<sup>19</sup>

### III. ALLIANCE DEMANDS AND POLICIES

In their discussions and statements of grievances, demands, and policies, the members of the Alliances made no separation of demands and policies, on the one hand, from grievances, on the other. For purposes of academic analysis, however, it seems worth while to make such a distinction, even though it involves some apparent and real repetition.

*Demands and Policies of the National Alliances.*—As previously stated, the national Alliances took the lead in stating demands, formulating policies, and writing platforms. These were then passed on to the state, county, and local Alliances. The most important demands made by the national Alliances for remedying

<sup>18</sup> November 27, 1891.

<sup>19</sup> September 11, 1891, quoting *Chehalis Nugget* (date not given).

agrarian ills during the decade of greatest Alliance strength, activity, and political influence were: (1) state and national control and regulation of railroads, and even government ownership of railroads; (2) the breaking up and the prevention of trusts and monopolies; (3) the abolition of national banks and the substitution of legal tender treasury notes for national bank notes; (4) free and unlimited coinage of silver; (5) increase of the total circulating money medium to \$50 per capita; (6) an equitable system of taxation, including a national graduated income tax; (7) a tariff system that would not work to the disadvantage of the agricultural classes; (8) practical education that would "be helpful in after life"; (9) a Federal law prohibiting dealing in futures on produce exchanges; (10) repossession by the government of lands held by the land-grant railroads for speculation; (11) Federal sub-treasuries and depositories in the main agricultural counties to lend money to farmers on safely stored, non-perishable farm products; and (12) election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people.<sup>80</sup> State, county, and local Alliances in Washington generally accepted and adopted as their own all of these planks and demands. As will be seen in the following sections, however, the state and local Alliances formulated various policies and demands growing out of their own special local problems.

*Ante-Alliance Remedies Proposed.*—A spokesman for eastern Washington farmers, just as the Northwestern Alliance was entering this part of the Territory, and before any appreciable number of farmers had joined the organization, proposed as remedies for the farmers' ills:

(1) Low economical taxes; (2) no class legislation; and (3) no monopolies allowed to be fostered or corporations aided.

But how is this to be brought about? By the ballot-box, by the farmer and laborer taking more interest in governmental affairs; by reading and thinking; by acting honestly with the ballot, casting it according to their own true convictions, and not simply at the instance of a party, so often managed and controlled by corrupt politicians; by selecting the best men for office, men whose character and uprightness of conduct can be vouched by the community in which they live; not men of one idea, but men of broad liberal views, who from an honest conviction, believe all men are equal before the law, and that legislation is for the many and now the few.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>80</sup> J. D. Hicks, *op. cit.*, pp. 427-431; N. B. Ashby, *op. cit.*, Part II; W. A. Peffer, *op. cit.*, Part III.

<sup>81</sup> February 17, 1888.

*Demands for Railroad Legislation.*—At another convention held in December, 1889, the Northwestern Alliance, addressing a memorial to the State Legislature on the grievances about high freight rates, stated its demands in very emphatic language:

We therefore ask you, yea, in the name of justice demand, that your honorable body speedily reduce freight and passenger rates on all transportation lines within the state to a reasonable and equitable basis and to this end would beg that you create a railroad commission clothed with ample and sufficient power to,

First, compel any transportation company doing business within the state to reduce its freight and passenger rates, when in the judgment of said commission, the best interests of the public demand it.

Second, to prevent all phases of discrimination which are now so flagrantly practiced by transportation lines in some parts of the state.

Third, to settle all controversies that may arise between the people and the railroad companies in an equitable manner.<sup>82</sup>

*Public Ownership of Railroads.*—At its annual convention in St. Louis in December of 1889, the National Farmers' Alliance "Resolved, That the railroads of the country should be owned and managed by the government in the interest of the whole people and that bond-aided railroads of the Pacific system should have their charters forfeited and the mortgages foreclosed, and that any extension of time beyond the present limits of their charters will meet with our unqualified condemnation."<sup>83</sup> In no part of the country was this plank more heartily approved by Alliance members than in Washington, and especially in those counties of eastern Washington where the Union Pacific and Northern Pacific railroads operated considerable mileage. A decade of struggle with these railroads had made these Alliance members radical with respect to railroad policies.

*Proposal to Build Their Own Railroad.*—Boldness of policy regarding railroads was shown by Alliance members in eastern Washington in the fall and winter of 1890 and 1891, when they were trying to overcome the obstacles of the railroad wheat blockade that stopped their sale and shipment of wheat. The following newspaper account tells the story of how far they were willing to go in their program of collective action:

Whitman County farmers are making tremendous efforts to organize a company to build and equip a railroad from the Palouse Country to the

<sup>82</sup> December 6, 1889.

<sup>83</sup> January 10, 1890.

Puget Sound. A stock company with small contributions from the farmers is being organized. Whitman County freight on grain amounts to \$5,000,000 a year to Puget Sound or Portland and \$7,000,000 to St. Paul or Chicago. Five or six million dollars will go a long way towards completing the proposed road. The farmers are terribly in earnest and are encouraged by business men. The state of feeling among them cannot be imagined by any one not associated in their midst. Both the Northern Pacific and the Union Pacific have practically refused to transport grain by a combination with the elevator companies to control prices, thus closing the market entirely. No community of farmers was ever so thoroughly aroused as are those of the Palouse Country today, and if the proposed railroad scheme fails, they will at least offer an immense bonus to the Great Northern to build branches for their relief by the time another yield is ready for market.<sup>84</sup>

*For the Sub-treasury Plan.*—In this economic distress, Washington farmers of the Alliance eagerly became supporters of all kinds of measures proposed in the national Congress for their relief. In March, 1890, a Whitman County farmer urged his fellow members of the Alliance to get behind the bill introduced by Senator Zebulon Vance of North Carolina and pushed by the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union—a bill which proposed to establish sub-treasuries in every agricultural county in the land—wherein farmers can get money at 1 per cent per annum, leaving as security agricultural produce of a staple character, upon which the farmer receives 80% of its actual value at the time. Grain, tobacco, or cotton is stored in great warehouses and will be kept by the U. S. for one year, the farmer receiving a warehouse receipt that gives the story of the transaction—said receipt being negotiable.

Advantages. Relieves the financial stress of the farmer just after harvest and enables him to pay creditors.

Can hold produce for a better price.

Would enable the farmer to become an independent capitalist and wait for a rise.

Reduce price fluctuations over the year for the farmer.

Stop passage of farm produce into hands of the speculator<sup>85</sup>

*Ask Federal Surplus Be Lent to Farmers.*—When there was a proposal before the national Congress for an adjustment of the debts owed to the federal government by the defaulting Union Pacific and Central Pacific railroads, through an extension of the time for payment of government bonds to fifty years at 3½ per cent interest, and when there was a surplus in the federal treasury, an Alliance member demanded:

<sup>84</sup> *Columbia Chronicle*, November 29, 1890.

<sup>85</sup> March 21, 1890.

Then, let the government loan its surplus revenues to the farmer to redeem his 10 or 12 per cent interest bearing mortgage, and take a mortgage on his farm as security for the loan, payable in ten, fifteen, or twenty years, as may be agreed on, or redeemable at any time by giving six month's notice, said mortgage to bear interest at 3½ per cent per annum, interest payable annually with a percentage to sinking fund to redeem the loan at maturity.<sup>86</sup>

*Loan Currency Based on Land.*—In May of 1890, the Whitman County Northwestern Alliance

Resolved, That we indorse the plan of Senator Stanford [of California] that our financial system be so changed, that the government may loan its currency to the farmers direct, taking therefor mortgages, one-half of a conservative valuation on their land, drawing interest at from 1 to 2 per cent, instead of as now, to men only who are able and will inaugurate national banks.

Resolved, That Senator Stanford's plan to cover land value will give the most substantial base and security to money that can be had.

Resolved, That we would recommend that each local memorialize Congress on the plan.<sup>87</sup>

*Comprehensive Alliance Program.*—At its regular monthly meeting in June, 1890, the Whitman County Northwestern Alliance adopted a report presented by its Political Committee, containing a "declaration of principles" and a set of resolutions which stated the rather comprehensive policy of the Alliance at that time:

1. To labor for the education of the agricultural classes in the science of economical government and to bring about a more perfect union.

2. That we demand equal rights to all and special favors to none.

3. That we develop a better state, mentally, morally, socially and financially.

Resolved, That all officials of our government should be elected by direct vote of the people, and that official salaries should be so adjusted as to more nearly harmonize with the price of honest labor.

Resolved, That we favor repeal of the national banking act.

Resolved, That we favor unlimited coinage of silver which should be made legal tender for all debts, both public and private, and believe that the government should issue sufficient legal tender notes, taken together with gold and silver in the country, to make the amount of money in circulation equal to 50 dollars per capita of the population thereof, and to retain the same on that basis.

Resolved, That we favor the Stanford bill which provides for the loaning of money by the government direct to the people on real estate at a nominal rate of interest.

Resolved, That we favor reserving the public domain to actual settlers, and are strenuously opposed to the granting of any more land by the gov-

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<sup>86</sup> March 21, 1890.

<sup>87</sup> May 2, 1890.

ernment to corporations; and also favor the taking of local steps to declare forfeited all land grants not earned by a strict compliance by the grantee with every condition on which the grants are made.

Resolved, That property be assessed at its full value and that mortgages on real estate be deducted from the value of the same, and assessed to owners of said mortgages.

Resolved, That we favor the enactment of laws that shall prohibit the formation of trusts and the dealing in futures which invariably results in depressing the prices of food products while same is in the hands of the producers.

Resolved, That we favor the creation by law of a railroad commission to be elected by the people, clothed with ample and sufficient power to fix freight and passenger rates and to prevent discrimination against shippers and shipping points.

Resolved, That we favor a tariff so adjusted that the necessities of life shall be made as cheap, as possible and that revenue necessary for an economical administration of the government be raised as far as possible from the luxuries, so that wealth shall bear the just proportion of the burden of government, and whatever is necessary to promote the agricultural interests, and place it on an equal basis with other pursuits, shall be admitted free.

Resolved, That we are in favor of such legislation as will submit the question of prohibition to a vote of the people at any general election, whenever the same is demanded.

Resolved, That as the ballot box is the means provided under our system of government for the expression of the popular will, and as our public measures and established conditions must sooner or later harmonize with the popular will, we are opposed to any attempt on the part of any class to right real or fancied wrongs through force and violence.

Resolved, That we sympathize with the just demands for labor of every class and recognize that many of the evils from which the farming community suffer oppress universal labor; and that therefore producers should unite in a common demand for the reform of unjust systems, and the repeal of laws that bear unequally upon different classes.

Resolved, That farmers together with all other producers should exert the political influence of their great numerical strength to thwart the increasing danger to the individual and the public interests which comes from the unrestrained greed of the influential anarchist who defies law, and tramples upon the principles of justice in his methods of acquiring the wealth that others create, and the less influential, less successful, but more demonstrative anarchist, who through speech and dynamite, boldly proclaims his contempt for law, order, government, human life and individual rights.<sup>88</sup>

*Democrats Adopt Alliance Program.*—By the middle of 1890, the Alliances in Whitman County were making their sentiments and influence felt in political party circles. This fact is seen in the character of the resolutions passed by the Democratic County con-

<sup>88</sup> June 27, 1890.

vention of Whitman County in July of that year. Undoubtedly a considerable number of Alliance members were in attendance at that convention, and many of the resolutions adopted were similar to those adopted by the Whitman County Alliance a month previous at its June meeting. The resolutions of the county Democrats (1) opposed taxation of the masses for the classes, and demanded that all men be given an equal chance in life; (2) opposed class legislation of any kind that tended to concentrate wealth in the hands of a class and create an aristocracy; (3) declared that government best which governs the least; (4) favored free and unlimited coinage of silver, some being made full legal tender for all private and public debts, and advocated repeal of the national banking law; (5) declared that no more taxes should be collected than necessary to defray the expenses of the government economically administered; (6) favored tariff reform so that wealth would sustain its fair proportion, with duties highest on luxuries and cheapest on necessities of life; (7) opposed all laws working against agriculture; (8) favored state and national laws for the prevention of trusts; (9) advocated amending the United States constitution so that all officials would be elected by the people; (10) demanded an income tax law whereby all net incomes over one thousand dollars per annum be made taxable; (11) demanded that Congress and the state Legislature take steps to regulate freight rates and fares; (12) favored taxing mortgages and deducting the amount of such mortgages from the assessed valuation of property; and (13) favored preserving the public domain for actual settlers and legal steps to declare forfeited all lands not earned by strict compliance with the laws.<sup>89</sup>

*Reiteration of Previous Demands.*—Resolutions on policies adopted by the second state convention of the Northwestern Alliance, meeting in November of 1890, were very much a reiteration of policy resolutions passed by the Whitman County Alliance in the previous June. These resolutions called for the following: (1) election of all officials by direct vote of the people; (2) free and unlimited coinage of silver and the making of silver legal tender for all debts; (3) loans by the government direct to the people at low rates of interest; (4) the assessment of all property at full costs value and the deduction of mortgages; (5) the

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<sup>89</sup> July 4, 1890.



establishment of a three-member railroad commission to be appointed by the governor; (6) the uniting of farmers and other producers to resist unrestrained greed and the trampling of law; (7) demand that taxation not be used to build up one class at the disadvantage of another; (8) forfeiture by Congress of all land grants not necessary for use; (9) state legislation to force railroads to meet their obligations to the people; (10) abolition of the present banking system; (11) patronizing of firms in cities showing a concern for industrial classes; (12) adoption of a sub-treasury plan; and (13) ultimate consolidation of all producing classes.<sup>90</sup>

*Money and Currency Supreme Issue in 1891.*—At its annual state meeting in November of 1891, the Northwestern Alliance demanded

repeal of the national banking system as banks of issue and that in lieu of bank notes the government issue paper currency for bonds now used by said banks to secure their circulation and to pay all pensions, salaries and appropriations for public improvement in full legal tender paper until such time as the amount of money in actual circulation shall amount to \$50 per capita or an amount that will equalize the incomes on loans and the legitimate business of the country, and establish banks under the control and management of the people through persons elected for said purposes.

At this meeting it was also resolved:

That we favor the unlimited coinage of domestic silver, and that the constitution be so amended that the President of the United States and U. S. Senators be elected by direct votes of the great body of legal voters of the various states.<sup>91</sup>

#### IV. ALLIANCE BUSINESS ENTERPRISE

*Utopian Proposal.*—A member of the Washington Northwestern Alliance, in January of 1890, in an article contributed to the *Colfax Commoner* entitled "Organization and Cooperation," proposed a sort of utopian business system for the Alliance that would have practically supplanted private business enterprise so far as farmers were concerned. His scheme was as follows:

1. Arrange for a cooperative system of trade.
2. Purchase implements and machinery at wholesale rates.
3. Dispose of grain and other agricultural products at the highest prices.
4. Direct shipment on the most valuable terms, and at equitable rates to all.

<sup>90</sup> December 5, 1890.

<sup>91</sup> November 27, 1891.

5. Store grain and negotiate advances, at the lowest rates of interest.
6. Establish banks to be controlled by farmers.
7. Replace the credit with a cash system in all the ordinary transactions of life.
8. Through cooperation, sell or build, as circumstances rendered necessary, the various products of the national industries, thus controlling, or entirely abolishing, the present system of gambling in the prime necessities of life.
9. Dispense with a large proportion of commission and middlemen.
10. Reduce railroad and water freights and fares to a minimum.
11. Break up monopolies, whether in trade, commerce, manufactures, or money.
12. Through cooperation of the farmers with mechanics and other laboring classes, establish manufactures at home, or near as possible to the production of raw materials, so that we might gradually produce at home nearly all that may be needed, in place of importing heavy from foreign countries.<sup>82</sup>

Suffice it to say the Washington Alliances never undertook any such far-reaching cooperative, articulated business enterprise as proposed by this member of the Alliance. During the several years of its existence, however, quite a number of small cooperative business enterprises were promoted by local and county units of the Alliances, particularly by the Northwestern Alliance. The principal cooperative Alliance business enterprises organized and operated were elevators and implement stores.

*State Manufacture of Sacks.*—At its first annual convention the Washington Northwestern Alliance passed the following resolution:

We believe the best interests of the state demand that a sufficient sum of public money be appropriated by the legislature to establish a plant at the state prison for the manufacture of grain sacks by prison labor and that the sale of the same should be confined to the state until its needs are supplied.<sup>83</sup>

A few years later the Washington Legislature enacted such legislation, and for many years the state penitentiary operated a plant for the manufacture of sacks.

*Cooperative Business Activities.*—In March of 1890, the Whitman County Northwestern Alliance, at its regular monthly meeting, appointed R. C. McCroskey "to look after squirrel poison in behalf of the Alliance."<sup>84</sup> In April of that year, the Garfield and Cedar Creek local Alliances of Whitman County "joined together to form and incorporate a cooperative stock company, their main object

<sup>82</sup> January 24, 1890.

<sup>83</sup> December 6, 1889.

<sup>84</sup> March 7, 1890.

being to erect a large grain warehouse at Garfield. A system of storing and selling is mapped out by the Alliancemen that will undoubtedly secure the producer an advance of from 5 to 10 cents per bushel."<sup>95</sup>

A few weeks later it was announced that the Guy local Alliance of Whitman County had elected a committee of five to carry out the steps "to incorporate a farmers' warehouse company to be located at Guy. All farmers were urged to subscribe stock and use the warehouse."<sup>96</sup> By the middle of 1890, a number of the local Alliances of Whitman County were busy erecting warehouses. A news item stated: "The farmers of the Palouse country, in banding together for the erection and control of their own warehouses along the railroad lines, are doing the right thing. Quite a number of these warehouses are now in the course of construction in Whitman County and the *Commoner* hopes to be able to record many more."<sup>97</sup>

One of the first stores organized by a local Alliance in Washington was at Oakesdale. Here a company, called the Washington Farmers' Alliance Company, was organized in late 1888 with a capital stock of \$10,000. The company had erected its own building and was doing such a flourishing business by the end of 1890, "enabling farmers to purchase at greatly reduced prices," that the company "was authorized to increase its capital stock to \$50,000."<sup>98</sup>

In December, 1890, at the second annual meeting of the state Northwestern Alliance at Oakesdale, it was "decided to increase the capital stock of the Farmers' Alliance Company to \$100,000" and "to establish warehouses and elevators all through the farming country."<sup>99</sup>

At the same meeting, the Warehouse Committee made a report and recommended that:

(1) An Alliance elevator and warehouse company be formed to build, lease, and operate elevators and warehouses and to do everything necessary to buy, store, and sell grain and produce grown upon farms.

(2) The purchase and holding of stock be limited to members of the Alliance and elevators and warehouses must be built and leased at every station and landing where stock has been taken and paid for in the neigh-

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<sup>95</sup> April 25, 1890.

<sup>96</sup> May 2, 1890.

<sup>97</sup> June 20, 1890.

<sup>98</sup> December 12, 1890.

<sup>99</sup> December 5, 1890.

borhood sufficient to build and lease such elevators and warehouses.

(3) Said Company to be entirely independent of the Alliance and to conduct its business strictly on business principles, so farmers receive full market price.

(4) The Executive Committee of the State Alliance shall at once proceed to organize said elevator and warehouse company and when so organized and incorporated, stockholders of said company should then elect a board of directors and executive officers and manage the business independent of the Alliance.<sup>100</sup>

Other reports of business activities of the Alliance in eastern Washington came from Lincoln County, where the Alliance members "determined to erect a large flouring mill for using their wheat";<sup>101</sup> and from Garfield County, where it was announced "the Farmers' Alliances of this county propose to erect their own warehouses so grain can be stored and sold under their supervision."<sup>102</sup>

During the latter half of 1890 and the first half of 1891, news items reported the building of Alliance warehouses, elevators, and stores in various communities in southeastern Washington. In October, 1891, the *Colfax Commoner*, published the following brief item, entitled "Alliance Warehouses," which perhaps somewhat exaggerated the number of warehouses being built but nevertheless indicated how active the Alliance was in the warehouse business: "Two years ago an Alliance Warehouse was unknown. Today there is not a grain shipping point of any consequence in Eastern Washington where the Alliance has not a warehouse and is handling the bulk of the grain."<sup>103</sup>

In January, 1891, the Walla Walla County Farmers' Alliance organized and incorporated the Farmers' Alliance Trading Association. The several functions of this association were "to buy, sell, handle for cash or on commission, agricultural implements or machinery, tin hollow and heavy hardware, and to conduct stores and warehouses for their sale; to buy, sell and handle grain and farm produce; to build and erect buildings; to purchase or acquire real and personal property; to borrow money on bonds, notes and mortgages; and to do all other things necessary for the conduct of business. Time of the corporation to existence was fixed at 50

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<sup>100</sup> December 5, 1890.

<sup>101</sup> *Columbia Chronicle*, December 13, 1890.

<sup>102</sup> *Columbia Chronicle*, December 27, 1890.

<sup>103</sup> October 23, 1891.

years and the business of the institution is to be managed by five trustees."<sup>104</sup>

*Savings to Alliance Members.*—In December, 1891, Silas Prather of Pullman reported that the Pullman Warehouse Company, owned and operated by the Alliance,

made many thousands of dollars for stockholders. The Company has also saved thousands of dollars to farmers in buying implements. Deering binders were selling for \$200. The Alliance Company bought and began selling them for \$157. Soon private dealers dropped binders to \$160. In one year the company bought and sold 40 binders, saving farmers \$43 on each.

The company also bought 50,000 pounds of binding twine and sold it at 12c a pound as against 18c a pound charged by private dealers. And with all this saving the company made good profits.<sup>105</sup>

This same issue of the *Commoner* also carried the following news item:

State Senator R. C. McCroskey of Garfield, enthusiastic advocate of the Alliance for purchase and selling, reported two mammoth warehouses at Garfield. The price for wheat was several cents higher than paid by private dealers. The company bought two carloads of grain sacks at a net saving of 2½c per sack when sacks sold for 10½c by private dealers.<sup>106</sup>

The effectiveness of the Alliance stores in reducing prices to farmers is shown by the following reported incident:

A strong Alliance organized at Rosalia decided to buy machinery, and gave its order to a Portland firm, which enabled them to sell farmers at about 50 per cent of former prices, but soon found the Colfax branch of the same firm able to undersell the Rosalia Farmers' Alliance 25 per cent.<sup>107</sup>

In January, 1892, President Ravens of the State Northwestern Alliance gave out an interview in Spokane in which he stated:

The cooperative stores have proved a success and helped the farmers. In Whitman County we have four of these stores. The one at Oakesdale of which I am president has a capital stock of \$50,000 and has a branch at Uniontown. The other two are at Colfax and Pullman. The price of binders has been reduced from \$225 to \$175. The Alliance now controls 14 warehouses and elevators in the state and makes 5 to 10c a bushel on handling wheat.<sup>108</sup>

*Failure of Alliance Enterprises.*—The business enterprises of the Alliance organizations seem not to have been very long-lived.

<sup>104</sup> *Columbia Chronicle*, January 17, 1891.

<sup>105</sup> December 4, 1891.

<sup>106</sup> December 4, 1891.

<sup>107</sup> *Columbia Chronicle*, December 13, 1890.

<sup>108</sup> January 20, 1890.

With the entrance of the Alliances into politics as an independent party, and with the failure of stores and elevators as a result of poor business management, the whole system of Alliance enterprises collapsed and disappeared very suddenly. Although published accounts of failures have not been found by the writer, two personal interviews with men who were closely associated with the Alliances throw light on the causes of failure.

The business activities of the Alliance in Columbia County were explained to the writer by one who was in the organization as a very young man:

The Alliance put on an organization and sold farm machinery. It soon went broke, because the fellow who tried to run it couldn't run it. My father-in-law took out stock in it. The organization went broke. It didn't sell enough and couldn't pay for what they bought. When the Alliance business went out the people quit meeting at the schoolhouses.<sup>109</sup>

Another old-timer, who as a young man saw the Alliance rise and disappear in Whitman County, gave a somewhat similar account:

The Alliance must have had about three-fourths of all the farmers in it in our part of the county. My father, J. F. T. McCroskey, belonged to it. The price of machinery had been high. The farmers wanted to change this. They bought sacks and machinery wholesale. But the manager didn't buy the right kind of machinery. He bought machinery that would run only on level ground. The farmers needed machinery for hilly land. The business failed and some of the farmers had to pay for all. The Farmers' Alliance had a warehouse. But it was considerably mismanaged. The farmers were not well read. They took a plausible well-talking fellow for manager. There were very few business-experienced fellows. The farmers just followed anybody who could talk well. So their Alliance business all failed.<sup>110</sup>

## V. EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM AND ACTIVITIES

*The National Alliances.*—Although the Washington Alliances never gave much publicity to their educational objectives and programs, it seems to have been assumed by Alliance leaders that the education of farmers and the general public about the problems and the needs of the farmers was one of the primary purposes of the Alliances. The Southern Alliance at its first national meeting in December, 1889, had placed the following statement on education as number *one* among its declaration of principles: "1. To

<sup>109</sup> W. F. McCaulay, Dayton, Washington, to the writer, August 4, 1949.

<sup>110</sup> James McCroskey, St. John, Washington, to the writer, June 23, 1949.

labor for the education of the agricultural classes in the science of economical government, in a strictly nonpartisan spirit, and to bring about a more perfect union of said classes."<sup>111</sup> The Northwestern Alliance seems to have assumed education of its members to be one of its major objectives when it stated: "The objects of the National Alliance are to unite the farmers for the promotion of their interests, socially, politically, and financially."<sup>112</sup>

Throughout the nation the Alliances implemented their educational ideal and objective in various ways. The lecturer—educational director—was a key person in the Alliances from the local to the national level. He suggested subjects for discussion, prepared programs, and took the lead in propounding various matters before the Alliance groups. A wide range of subjects was discussed and studied, including soil improvement, selection of plants and animals, crop rotation and diversification, and merits of different kinds of implements and machines. Especially such economic and political questions as railroad and trust legislation, tariff and taxation reform, and banking and money measures were discussed by Alliance members in their meetings. Hundreds of Alliance papers were established, which devoted their columns to a discussion of all matters pertaining to the farmers' welfare. Study groups were organized and circulating libraries put into operation in some counties. Quite a number of Alliance members began to read such books as Weaver's *A Call to Action*, Peffer's *The Farmer's Side*, Donnelly's *Caesar's Column*, Powderly's *Thirty Years of Labor*, and Bellamy's *Looking Backward*. Perhaps the most influential work of the Alliances was the stimulation of farmers and their wives to read and study along the lines of scientific agriculture and the economic and political problems of the agrarian classes.<sup>113</sup>

*Educational Aims of Washington Alliances.*—An Alliance member writing for the Alliance page of the *Colfax Commoner* in 1890 stressed education as the best means for the improvement of the status of farmers:

Farmers, we must arouse ourselves to the dignity and importance of our calling. We must educate ourselves to that intellectual status which will enable us to rule, as we are entitled to do, by our numerical strength, instead

<sup>111</sup> N. B. Ashby, *op. cit.*, p. 441.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 410.

<sup>113</sup> J. D. Hicks, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-132; Anna Rochester, *op. cit.*, Chap. 5.

of being ruled, as now, by classes in nowise our superiors, save as we permit them so to make ourselves.

To do this we must work, we must read, we must think! We must combine, and support organizations for our elevation already founded. We must array ourselves in solid column, and insist, by our voting power, that the law makers whom we elect to do their duty, by subserving the interests of the whole people, and not those merely of a class.<sup>124</sup>

The Secretary of the Washington Northwestern Alliance, in March of 1890, stated again, for both Alliance members and the general public, the educational aims of the Alliance:

The Constitution of the Washington Alliance, which governs all local Alliances, states its objects plainly and tersely, to be the promotion of the best interests of our agricultural people in a practical and legitimate way, by the inculcation of the home sentiment with all its elements of nobleness; by importuning the use of such educational provisions made by the state for the intellectual promotion of agriculture and the use of the best moral, intellectual, agricultural and political literature of the times in our farm homes; by a free and full discussion of the blood, theory, inbreeding, treatment of stock, kind of grasses, cost of production, transportation, home or foreign markets, supply and demand, and all other questions relating to the protection of agriculture....<sup>125</sup>

A member of the Alliance of Walla Walla County, listing the achievements of the Alliance in his county in the three years it had been organized, wrote as follows about its educational program:

And we have educated ourselves to know that intelligent effort by farmers of our common country, when united and thrown against the professional politician and mercenary patriot, is felt for the good of our cause—which is the greatest good to the greatest number. We plow right through the old parties. We will cultivate the political field until we get the farm sufficiently tilled, and we know the harvest is assured.

It has given us an intelligent means to compare notes upon the best plan to sow and reap our farms, fields, and gardens; the best varieties of fruit to cultivate and the social benefits are no small part of the benefits.<sup>126</sup>

*As a Country Editor Saw It.*—A local newspaper editor, writing for the Alliances and lending his columns to the Alliance members and locals for all kinds of publicity and discussions, saw in education the most effective method of promoting and maintaining the Alliance. He wrote at length as follows:

The Alliance must be sustained in its work of education or its usefulness will be most certainly destroyed. No other organization ever possessed the

<sup>124</sup> January 31, 1890.

<sup>125</sup> March 28, 1890.

<sup>126</sup> *Columbia Chronicle*, March 7, 1891.



opportunities for an effort of this character that the Alliance does at the present time. To neglect it would be criminal.

To induce people to read is the first step toward educational development. When people will read, they will think, and whenever they think, the battle is half won. The duty of the Alliance, therefore, is to lead men's thought in the right direction, to see that these ideas are correctly formed, and that nothing but economic principles of government are permitted to obtain. Herein lies the grand mission of the Alliance, and herein will be founded the greater reward for its labor.

The mission of this great farmers' movement is yet but partially understood, even by its leaders. New phases of political economy are constantly coming to light that can only be solved by an organization of its character. Reform begins with people, and not with politicians; it is therefore necessary to have some medium of reaching people, besides the usual method of political gatherings. The sub-Alliance supplies that want and should be made the most powerful and complete educator of modern times, and can be so utilized with but little trouble and expense. The highest duty of the order should be, as its most enduring glory will be, the education and enlightenment of its members. Ignorance, superstition, or partisanism should never be found in the Alliance. The whole teachings of the order are adverse to them, and its final triumph will be their complete destruction. Because of this it is urged upon every sub-Alliance to devise some means by which its meetings can be made pleasant and instructive, so that every member will go away feeling he has been benefited, and will anxiously look forward to the time of the next meeting, expecting to be equally rewarded for his attendance.<sup>131</sup>

*Proposed Educational Program for Locals.*—The nature of the educational program proposed by the Washington Northwestern Alliance can be seen in the list of subjects suggested for the local Alliances by Secretary J. W. Arrasmith for the first seven months of 1892:

#### JANUARY

What Causes the Degradation of Labor in the Eyes of the Moneyed Class.  
What Is the Best Rotation in Our Soil.

Does Concentration of Wealth Tend Towards Future Prosperity of the Farmers.

How Can We Secure Best Prices for Our Products.

#### FEBRUARY

What Is the Legal Tender.

Who Should Issue It and at Whose Expense.

Should We Have Free and Unlimited Coinage of American Silver.

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<sup>131</sup> *Columbia Chronicle*, November 29, 1890.

## MARCH

Why Should the Government Own and Control the Railroads.  
Who Controls Our Elections: the Money Power or the Honest Intelligent Ballot.

## APRIL

What Is the Best Taxation System.  
Should Government Control or Transact the Express Business of the Country.

## MAY

What Is Need for Education, Who Should Be Our Educators and at What Salary.  
What Change, If Any, Do We Need in Alliance Work.

## JUNE

Is It Right for the Government to Loan or Issue Money on Real Estate.  
Should We Have a State Usury Law.

## JULY

Should We Encourage Foreign Emigration to This Country.  
What Changes, If Any, Do We Need in Our County Affairs.<sup>118</sup>

So far as the writer can ascertain, only one strictly Alliance paper was established in Washington. At one of its meetings of the state annual convention of the Northwestern Alliance held in Dayton in November of 1891, "J. E. Nessly of *The Alliance Advocate* was admitted as an honorary member. Nessly is operating his paper at Oakesdale."<sup>119</sup> A number of the regular country newspapers, however, in those counties in which the Alliances became strong, gave considerable space to Alliance news, activities, and discussions. The editors of two local rural papers, the *Colfax Commoner* and the *Columbia Chronicle*, devoted a whole page weekly over a period of several years to Alliance affairs. A large number of country editors throughout the state were strong supporters of the Alliances, wrote editorials in their support, and gave assistance to Alliance leaders in their promotional and organizational work.

## VI. THE ALLIANCES IN POLITICS

*Declaration of Non-Partisan Policy.*—Over and over again in their early days the two great Alliances disavowed partisan politics and proclaimed their independence of political parties. Although

<sup>118</sup> *Columbia Chronicle*, January 9, 1892.

<sup>119</sup> November 20, 1891.

they would use politics as a most important means to achieve their objectives, they would not befog their clear-cut agrarian issues with the traditions, prejudices, hatreds, and backward-looking claims, stands, and make-believe contendings of the two old parties.

At its first organizational meeting the Northwestern Alliance, in its constitution just adopted, declared that one of the primary objects of its organization was: "To oppose, in our respective political parties, the election of any candidate to office, State or national, who is not thoroughly in sympathy with farmers' interests; to demand that the existing political parties shall nominate farmers, or those who are in sympathy with them, for all offices within the gift of the people . . ." The Southern Alliance in its constitution declared it would seek its various objectives "in a strictly non-partisan spirit."<sup>120</sup> The leaders of both the Washington Alliances, during the first few years of their activities, positively declared many times that their organizations were strictly non-partisan, that they would not enter the field of politics as partisan organizations, and that they would not become a partisan political party.

*Working Under the Non-Partisan Principle.*—How the Northwestern Alliance of Whitman County implemented the principle of non-partisan action in politics in the campaign of 1890 was explained two years after the campaign by E. B. Williams, a leading Alliance member and Vice-President of the state Northwestern Alliance:

A committee of six, three Democrats and three Republicans, was selected. Each of the three appeared before the Executive Committee of their party and urged early primaries. The committee of six superintended the campaign in the interest of the Alliance. Alliance men were instructed to attend the primaries and control them and thereby the conventions and see men were nominated in whom we had implicit faith. After the conventions had nominated tickets, the County Alliance met and selected a ticket from the two tickets nominated. Then all knew just what the Alliance ticket was.<sup>121</sup>

It had not always been easy, however, for Alliance members to get the old political parties to give attention to the problems of the farmers and the demands made by the Alliances. Particularly was there opposition to nominating Alliance candidates. A Republican farmer and Alliance member, in July, 1888, attacked the leaders of the Republican county convention as "machine ridden"

<sup>120</sup> N. B. Ashby, *op. cit.*, pp. 408, 441.

<sup>121</sup> January 29, 1892.

and "totally indifferent to the requests of the Alliance members of the party." He continued: "The farmers' Alliance made a very modest request, asking for a representative to the legislature, and the office of assessor, but it too was 'sat down on' very hard, not getting as much as even one candidate." He charged that "the Republican party has been returned to the corporations by the bosses," and that the Republican nominees for the State Legislature, who had already previously served, "favored the railroads and voted against a railroad commission bill and a bill requiring railroad companies to fence their tracks." And he closed his letter in bitter words: "In the face of such records these gentlemen are candidates for the suffrage of a people who have been, and are still sorely oppressed by railroad exactions."<sup>122</sup>

A few weeks later another Republican Alliance member repeated the same charge against the Republican county convention. "While the convention declared for freight rates it showed its insincerity by 'snowing under' every candidate known to be in favor of the same, and nominated those known to be opposed to the plank."<sup>123</sup>

The Democratic Party of Whitman County, on the other hand, was more favorably disposed towards the Alliances. A number of its strong leaders were members of the Alliances. Its platforms usually contained the demands of the Alliances. In the election of 1890, R. C. McCroskey of Garfield, a Democrat and one of the strongest Alliance leaders in the county, was elected state Senator on the Democratic ticket. As soon as he was elected, he announced he would "war for the creation of a railroad commission," "for a law fixing maximum freight rates," and "for reorganization of the State board of equalization," so that the "interests of the farmers would be protected in the assessment and taxation of property."<sup>124</sup>

If the Washington Alliances were steering clear of partisan politics, they were not hesitating to use strong political action. In April, 1890, before the meeting of the county political conventions, members of the Whitman County Northwestern Alliance "Resolved, That we will not support any man whose services as legislator or officer have not been in the interest of the producing masses—the charge against him to be established or disproved by

<sup>122</sup> July 20, 1888.

<sup>123</sup> August 17, 1888.

<sup>124</sup> December 12, 1890.

an industrial organization in a fair and impartial investigation." And the County Alliance further "Resolved, That we will not support any candidate for the legislature or Congress who will not first pledge himself to work for the interests of farmers and other laboring classes."<sup>125</sup>

*Skitting the Brink of Politics.*—As the Alliances gained momentum and influence throughout the country, it became increasingly difficult for some of its leaders to live up to the deed and spirit of their non-partisan declarations. John M. Smith, Alliance organizer in Whitman County, addressing a meeting of the Whitman County Northwestern Alliance in April, 1890, mixed eloquence, sarcasm, prophecy, and partisan politics in his speech as he foretold the coming successes of the Alliances:

It is a gathering storm, an impending avalanche; an awful crisis fatal in its aspect to politicians and demagogues, who begin to quake and cry in their anguish in some quarters of the country: "Farmers ought not to mix in politics; it is out of their sphere; they do not understand it." God forbid that farmers should ever understand it; as some of them do in the dark pool of infamy and corruption. We congratulate our eastern brethern on their self-delivery from the thralldom of political prejudice, that made secure their glorious victory.... The time is drawing near when the old political pioneers will all be gone, whose party zeal impelled them to say, "I never scratch; I always vote straight the same as my father did".... Those who are determined to stick to their old party under all circumstances may never have heard of the old darkey preacher, who thus warned: "Bredren! Dare are but two roads for us to trabel; one leads to hell and de oder to damnation."<sup>126</sup>

Yet in June, 1890, members of the Whitman County Alliance were still much opposed to converting the Alliance into a political organization: "The scheme for organizing the Alliance into a separate party was almost unanimously routed, and a declaration of principles adopted which contains enough sound sense and political wisdom to commend itself to every independent thinker and voter, in or out of the Alliance."<sup>127</sup>

But if Alliance members tried to keep out of partisan politics, the old parties did not try to steer clear of Alliance objectives, policies, and principles as the Alliance waxed in strength. It would appear that many Alliance members were present in the Whitman County Democratic Convention in July, 1890, when its platform was written and adopted. Indeed the county Democratic

<sup>125</sup> April 25, 1890.

<sup>126</sup> April 11, 1890.

<sup>127</sup> June 27, 1890.

platform read almost like the resolutions of a county Alliance meeting. The Democrats just about "out allied" the Alliance: "We favor free and unlimited coinage of silver, and same to be made legal tender for all public and private debts, and repeal of the national banking law." And in a whole series of resolutions the Democratic convention almost paralleled the Alliance demands on opposition to "class legislation of any kind which tends to concentrate wealth in the hands of a class and create aristocracy"; calling for "tariff reform, so wealth sustains its fair proportion, with duties highest on luxuries and cheapest on necessities of life"; for "state and national laws for the prevention of trusts"; for "an income tax law whereby all net incomes over \$1000 per annum be made taxable"; for "Congress and state legislation to regulate freight rates and fares"; for a law "taxing mortgages and deducting the amount of such mortgages from the assessed valuation of property"; and in "favor of preserving the public domain for actual settlers and legal steps to declare forfeited all lands not earned by strict compliance with the laws."<sup>128</sup> This Democratic platform was all the Alliance members could have asked.

*Effects of the Elections of 1890.*—While the principal leaders of the Alliances in Washington were doing everything they could to steer their organizations along non-partisan lines in the election of 1890. Alliance leaders in a number of Middle Western and Southern states were practically converting their Alliances into political parties, either by capturing one of the old parties, as in several Southern states, or by setting themselves up as independent third parties, as in the Middle West. In several states, notably Kansas and South Dakota, enough Alliance representatives were elected who were either outright Alliance representatives or were dates to the United States Senate. About fifty Congressmen were elected, who were either outright Alliance representatives or were so strongly controlled by the Alliances that they could be depended upon to support Alliance legislation in Congress.<sup>129</sup> These political successes at the polls in 1890, whether partisan or non-partisan, clearly demonstrated to Alliance members their real and potential political power when they united on programs and candidates.

And as many members of the Northwestern Alliance became

<sup>128</sup> July 4, 1890.

<sup>129</sup> J. D. Hicks, *op. cit.*, Chap. VI; Anna Rochester, *op. cit.*, Chap. 5; S. J. Buck, *op. cit.*, Chap. VIII.

increasingly conscious politically after the election of 1890, the state Secretary and editor of the Alliance page in the *Colfax Commoner* warned the membership against participation in partisan politics by quoting from a letter he had received from the national Secretary of the Northwestern Alliance, a letter which restated the non-partisan policy of that organization:

This organization is strictly non-partisan in its methods. It is recommended, however, that each member use his utmost influence in the political party of his choice to secure the nomination of candidates for Congressional and legislative honors committed to Alliance principles.

And he further argued:

The Alliance is organized for the benefit of agriculture. It works avowedly for the farmers. It works for a single class. If it went into politics it would be a class party. It can make terms with one or the other parties in elections now and throw its influence the way it wishes. As a third party the Alliance would have two powerful parties to fight as enemies.<sup>120</sup>

*The Great Debate Whether to Become a Third Party.*—As sentiment and agitation throughout the nation and the state of Washington in the early months of 1891 mounted for the formation of a new political party to represent agrarian and labor interests, President G. D. Sutton of the Washington Northwestern Alliance voiced his unequivocal opposition to the Alliance joining in a move to become a separate political party:

In no sense is the Alliance a political party or political organization; but its objects and aims are various, ranging through a long line of subjects which are of deep interest to the farmer. But when the proper time comes, the Alliance will undoubtedly designate its preference for candidates at its county and state meetings, and in advance of the nominations of both the great political parties. The moment the Alliance leaves its present organization and rushes wildly into a new political party, with all the antagonistic elements, which are continually crowding to the front of the third party movement, that moment, the Alliance will dissolve in the midst of political discord and fanaticism. The Alliance as it now stands is one of the most perfect agricultural organizations ever devised in this country for the speedy and efficient correction of the monster evils which have crept into American politics. ... In every instance where the Alliance has named conservative and capable men, they have been endorsed and generally elected.... The plan of the Alliance is to stay within their organization and fight their battles, whether commercial or political.... To leave the Alliance and follow the wild hallucinations of the third party agitators and fanatical demagogues or fondly caress the doctrines of the old parties, which are wrong, without a solemn

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<sup>120</sup> December 19, 1890.

and vigorous protest, would be as disastrous as leaping from a strong and well made ship into the ocean when the white capped waves begin to roll.<sup>121</sup>

But Vice-President E. B. Williams of the same organization took a different view on the relation of the Alliance to the agitations for a "third party." He urged the local and county Alliances to

discuss the third party question and vote on it, so we can have an expression of opinion for the state meeting next fall.

Now, as to my own views on this subject, I am confident that the time has come when we should act, and in an independent party. There is no Alliance man in the state of Washington but knows that if we get the reforms we are advocating, we must get them through national and state legislation and they further know that we have got to have absolute control of said legislation to accomplish this end. Then the question naturally arises, "How are we to get control?" Must we still get on our humble knees to the old parties and beg them to hear our prayers?

Now then, brethren, you all know they are—or the leaders of both old parties are—bitterly opposing the very dearest and best principles we are advocating, and you all know that neither of the old parties have done anything in the last twenty years in behalf of the laboring classes. On the contrary they have legislated against us and in favor of our enemies. What can we expect of our enemies? Nothing more than what we have already received. Then, brethren, in view of all this, let us lay down all party prejudice and come together and reason in a sensible manner and act for ourselves, and be our own leaders. We know that we have the power. Why not use it?<sup>122</sup>

After the joint conferences of the two national Alliances at St. Louis in December, 1889, their failure to unite as a single great Alliance, but their issuance of practically the same demands, almost exclusively political, a strong trend set in toward independent political action and the organization of a new third agrarian party. The elections of 1890 greatly reinforced this trend. At the meeting of the officials and councils of the two Alliances in Ocala, Florida, in December, 1890, a group of Alliance leaders, strongly inclined toward the organization of a third party, decided to call a meeting in Cincinnati in February (postponed later until May), 1891, to consider forming a new party. Other reform and industrial organizations were invited to send representatives to this meeting. This Cincinnati meeting took the initial steps in organizing a new party. It was decided to hold a nominating

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<sup>121</sup> March 20, 1891.

<sup>122</sup> May 22, 1891.



convention not later than June 1, 1892, to formulate a platform and nominate candidates for President and Vice-President.<sup>133</sup>

The action of the Cincinnati convention was the signal for similar action in Washington. In June the Garfield County Southern Alliance was addressed by J. M. Smith, then a national organizer. Smith reported that sentiment was almost solid among Alliance members in Garfield County for a third party. At the close of its meeting, the Garfield Alliance "Resolved, That we believe it is time in our state that we should be united at the foot (in our locals) since we have been united at the head by the action of the recent convention at Cincinnati, on May 20th, in adopting the most essential parts of both the Omaha [National Northwestern Alliance meeting of 1891] and Ocala platforms." And the Garfield Alliance, making a very fine distinction, further "Resolved, That the National Alliance and Industrial Union is not a 'third party,' but we endorse a third party movement in our organization as one factor to help all industrial forces in the United States; believing it the best and surest way to secure our just rights in matters of legislation."<sup>134</sup>

At its June meeting, the Spokane County Alliance considered a request by certain members for the forced withdrawal of President G. D. Sutton from the Alliance because of his vigorous opposition to a third party and referred the request to a committee for further consideration. Then the county Alliance resolved "That, we heartily endorse the action of the recent Cincinnati convention, and recommend all Alliance men aid in the formation of a peoples party," and also "That, we favor the State Alliance calling a convention from different individual organizations to form a state platform for the peoples party."<sup>135</sup>

At mid-year, 1891, a Whitman County newspaper man, who had lived in the midst of the Alliance movement and observed its gathering political momentum for three years, wrote a long article for one of the big west-side dailies, undertaking to interpret the movement and its probable future trend for Washington west-side readers:

There never was a time in this state when the farmers were banded together so thoroughly and determinedly as they are today. Men who, in

<sup>133</sup> J. D. Hicks, *op. cit.*, Chap. VIII; S. J. Buck, *op. cit.*, Chap. IX; Anna Rochester, *op. cit.*, Chap. 7.

<sup>134</sup> June 5, 1891.

<sup>135</sup> June 26, 1891.

former campaigns, were looked upon as the staunchest Republicans or Democrats, the backbone of their party among the farmers, are now assailing these organizations with as much bitterness as they once defended them with enthusiasm. There is a deep feeling of discontent with the grangers [farmers] of every class. All of them are convinced that they are not getting their share of profits, and they stand ready, even anxious to grasp at anything or support any party that will give them relief.<sup>136</sup>

In July, 1891, Vice-President E. B. Williams, of the Washington Northwestern Alliance, again urged Alliance members to participate in the third-party movement:

Now, brethren, I appeal to your reasoning to examine these questions and do not be sidetracked by our enemies, but stand firm on our platform, and if that platform brings a third party, say amen to it, for the platform we are advocating will bring the needed reform, and well do our enemies know it, and are trying to get discord in our ranks which, if they can accomplish, will defeat the glorious principles we are seeking.

I have been travelling over the country for six weeks and I find that the sentiment is unanimous in favor of a third party, or nearly so. I have met two or three Alliance men opposed to the move, but those men want the light turned on, and may we all help turn on the light is my prayer.<sup>137</sup>

In July, 1891, a meeting of various agrarian and labor groups, calling themselves a "Confederation of Industrial Organizations" met in Yakima to consider the formation of a third party. A number of the county Alliances in eastern Washington sent representatives to this meeting. When it was announced that the "confederated forces of agriculture and labor" had taken the initial steps to organize a third party, the Democratic editor of the Colfax *Commoner* pleaded with his Alliance readers to continue to work through the Democratic Party for the achievement of their Alliance objectives. His editorial ran:

Coinciding with the farmers and laborers in their belief that they have been wrongfully pursued and preyed upon by mercenary money sharks, who have by every corrupt means which their ingenuity could devise, been abetted by legislative and executive influences, we yet fail to see the wisdom in the organization of a third party, which must of necessity seriously divide the strength of those who are seeking the same virtuous ends in our government.

The democratic party is at the present time straining every nerve and bending every energy to secure the same rights and the same privileges which the strongest adherents of the third party demand.<sup>138</sup>

<sup>136</sup> J. E. Ballaine, in *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, July 9, 1891.

<sup>137</sup> July 17, 1891.

<sup>138</sup> July 31, 1891.

In the same issue of his paper, the *Commoner* editor went still further and, at considerable length, warned his Alliance readers of the dangers to their organization of independent partisan action:

Farmers in the Alliance are now in dead earnest. If their influence is properly directed it will be good for the country, but if perverted through intrigues by selfish demagogues then its end will have come and it will have existed for worse than nothing. If efforts are to better farming, education, marketing, political duties of citizens—it will serve farmers well.

But if the purpose shall be to organize a great political party which shall sweep the country—to control the congressional and state legislatures, and pass laws which shall fill their pockets with money without rendering an equivalent therefor, then will its influence be bad. There is always a danger in the kind of legislation which tends to destroy reliance upon individual effort and look to a kind of paternal government for support. The people must support the government, but the government can never support the people. And the great danger to the Alliance today is too much reliance upon legislation. Laws can never supply the place of patient toil, economy and virtuous habits. Many of the burdens upon the industry of the country may be removed by careful legislation and the Alliance should put forth its efforts in this direction, but every scheme that tends to encourage the individual in looking to the government for the means of support, or for the foundation of a fortune should be discouraged by every true friend of the Alliance; its influence is bad upon the young who are just starting out in life.

The Alliance is just what the farmers need. We wish it a hearty God speed, and in attempting to point out some of the rocks upon which, in our judgment, it is liable to be wrecked, or seriously injured, we do it in a most kindly feeling, without any thought of casting a single stone in the rough and thorny path of this great farmers' movement in its unequal fight with soulless corporations and heartless monopolies.<sup>339</sup>

As the debate whether the Alliances should help form a third party waxed in the Washington Alliances, an Alliance member in Whitman County again pointed out the peculiar political nature of the Alliance:

The Alliance is political but non-partisan. All men who have honestly investigated our purpose know this to be true. The very purpose we aim at is political. There is no measure advocated by our order but has a political significance, and that is what disturbs the dreams of our mossbackers. Had the farmers contented themselves with organizing Alliances to discuss how to grow pears on apple trees, or how to raise grass in the cotton patch, or any other ridiculous ideas, the fellows would never have interfered. But the moment the farmers of all shades of political opinion began to discuss questions of government policy, a shudder of fear stole over the politicians.<sup>340</sup>

<sup>339</sup> July 31, 1891.

<sup>340</sup> October 2, 1891.

At its July meeting of 1891, the Garfield County Alliance voted to send a representative to the meeting in Yakima, which was to consider the question of a third party.<sup>141</sup> But in the Whitman County Alliance, at its July meeting, "the third party question was sprung and hotly discussed, but no action was taken. The majority thought that it was too early to take positive steps."<sup>142</sup>

During the latter half of 1891, the third party question increasingly plagued the local and county Alliances. At the November meeting of the Lincoln County Alliance, delegate J. B. Irvine offered a resolution "endorsing the Cincinnati platform and the peoples party which he said was the next order of business and was to be discussed and voted on." State President G. D. Sutton, who was present and had been asked to address the convention on the resolution, "urged the Alliance to stand by the state constitution, pointing out the practical results of taking non-partisan action in the coming campaign." He proposed that "the Alliance in each county call a nonpartisan convention, inviting other industrial organizations to unite with them, designate their candidates pledged to Alliance principles and urge their nomination by the respective party conventions, both in county and state." The question "was discussed for three hours. When the vote was taken it was almost unanimous in defeating the resolution."<sup>143</sup>

*Impossibility of Stemming Tide to Third Party.*—When the delegates from the various counties of the Northwestern Alliance met in Dayton, November, 1891, for the annual state convention, the all-absorbing question before the Alliance was that of endorsing the third-party movement. In and out of the regular meetings the third-party issue was the major theme for discussion. At one of the meetings, J. M. Reed of Whitman County "advocated that the Alliance go to each of the old parties for endorsement of their programs, and if denied, then the Alliance stand on its principles and let the old parties go hang. 'Both old parties are teeming with rascals and should be hung on the same limb' (Great Applause)."<sup>144</sup>

The whole matter came to a climax when, on the last day of

<sup>141</sup> July 24, 1891.

<sup>142</sup> August 7, 1891.

<sup>143</sup> November 20, 1891.

<sup>144</sup> *Columbia Chronicle*, November 21, 1891.

the convention, it was proposed to send Alliance delegates to a forthcoming third-party convention to convene in Ellensburg. President G. D. Sutton strenuously opposed sending such delegates. As President of the meeting he ruled the motion to send the delegates out of order, on the ground that Alliance funds could not be spent to send delegates to partisan meetings. A bitter controversy followed. "Dozens of delegates tried to talk at the same time." An appeal was taken from President Sutton's ruling. When "he stubbornly refused to put the motion, the members of the convention demanded that the sergeant-at-arms remove him from the meeting, but before this could be done, he put on his overcoat and left of his own accord."<sup>145</sup> The motion to send the delegates was then passed by a large majority; and before adjourning, the delegates passed a resolution, "That the convention unanimously censures the late president for his disgraceful conduct during the last hour of this meeting and the manner in which he left the hall; and that the Secretary of this Alliance be instructed to advise Sutton's local of his conduct and ask that he be expelled from the order."<sup>146</sup>

The strong sentiment among the delegates for a third-party was shown by one of the resolutions passed at the convention: "Owing to the progress of the Farmers' Alliance in Washington and the success attending all its enterprises, we deem it advisable for this Alliance to stand independent politically and invite all who are in sympathy with Alliance principles to work with it."<sup>147</sup> Delegate Orley Hull, from Columbia County, probably spoke the sentiments of the great majority of the Alliance delegates when he said a few days following the convention:

I was present a day and a half. I cannot see that anything was done. I think the work will be done at the Ellensburg convention, when a party organization will be formed, and the real work of the Alliance will be continued. I hope the Alliance will assist in the organization of a third party. If it does not do the work of the Alliance it will go for naught and all we have accomplished will be lost to us. In my opinion it is only through political action that we can hope to obtain our demands. The State Alliance contains as able men as are in the State, many of them profound thinkers and orators of no mean degree. The action of Sutton was that of a prejudiced man and will be of no effect.<sup>148</sup>

<sup>145</sup> November 27, 1891.

<sup>146</sup> *Columbia Chronicle*, November 21, 1891.

<sup>147</sup> November 27, 1891.

<sup>148</sup> *Columbia Chronicle*, November 28, 1891.

Though individual Alliance members of locals, county organizations, and finally the state Alliances in Washington showed a stronger and almost inevitable trend towards an independent third party, leaders of the Democratic party who realized what the organization of a third party would do for their party hoped that some kind of joint action could be worked out between the Alliances and the Democratic Party in the state, so that a third party would be forestalled. Judge Thomas Burke, prominent conservative Democrat and chief justice of the Washington Territorial Supreme Court, 1885 to 1889, gave out an interview in Chicago, predicting such action:

The Farmers' Alliance is strong east of the mountains in the great farming sections of the state and it is believed a large number of Alliance men will be sent to the legislature. The Democrats and the Alliance members will form a coalition and in that way will defeat the Republican candidate for U.S. Senator. A deal might be fixed up to give the Alliance men the next governor of the State and to send a Democrat to the U.S. Senate.<sup>149</sup>

Against all arguments and opposition, the Alliance moved steadily toward a third party. At its December meeting of 1891, the Whitman County Northwestern Alliance, which had held out against a third party, elected three delegates to attend the Ellensburg meeting of the Federation of trades and industries and "instructed them by a vote of 12 to 8 to favor a third party."<sup>150</sup> This move on the part of the banner Alliance county in the state was a signal for all other county Alliances to move toward a third party.

*Failure of the Alliance Leaders to Stem the Tide.*—The new state President-elect of the Northwestern Alliance for 1892 and three other officials of the Executive Committee, however, made last-minute desperate attempts to keep the organized Alliances and individual Alliance members from going over to a third party. Even after the November Dayton convention, which seemed strongly in favor of taking the Northwestern Alliance over into a third party, they prepared a lengthy statement for the papers carrying Alliance news, trying to hold the Alliances and their members to non-partisan action, in accordance with the national Alliance and state constitutions. "This organization is strictly non-partisan

<sup>149</sup> Olympia *Washington Standard*, December 4, 1891, from the Chicago *Herald* (no date given).

<sup>150</sup> December 4, 1891.

in its methods," they reiterated. They urged that "each Alliance member use his utmost influence in the political party of his choice to secure for Congress and the legislature nominees committed to the principles of the Alliance." They reminded each Alliance member that he "is not barred politically from acting according to his choice." They quoted at length from the declaration of principles of the Alliance constitution that the organization is "strictly non-partisan"; that its aim is "to secure the establishment of right and justice"; that it seeks "to secure purity in the elective franchise"; and that its members are urged "to vote for laws that express the most advanced public sentiment on all questions." And they concluded:

This declaration of principles is far more noble than party organization; for it looks to the education of both the old and young in the rudimentary and advanced principles of our vocations, and the financial policy of our government. As Alliance officers we propose to be loyal to the principles set forth in this declaration and allow each member the privilege of a free American citizen to vote as he pleases, and do not propose to control or be controlled by any party. The proper attitude of the Alliance politically is to be prepared to criticize or admire the action of any of the parties, and if a new party should go into power to be just as free to discuss its merits or demerits as we are now those in power.<sup>151</sup>

A month later, President Ravens, in an interview with a reporter of the *Spokane Review*, declared again that "The Alliance is strictly nonpartisan and its object is to ameliorate the condition of the farmers and not to boom the political aspirations of any set of men."<sup>152</sup>

The policy pursued by the Washington Southern Alliance with respect to partisan politics was also explained by J. A. Helman, assistant state lecturer and organizer, in February, 1892, when sentiment among Alliance members was becoming preponderant for a third party:

The Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union is strictly nonpartisan, but at the same time it is as full of politics as an egg is full of meat. It is a school of education. We have certain demands which we make, and we discuss them in our locals, but we leave partisan politics on the outside. We have our Ocala demands, and we pledge ourselves to support no man or party that refuses to grant them.<sup>153</sup>

<sup>151</sup> December 18, 1891.

<sup>152</sup> January 20, 1892.

<sup>153</sup> February 5, 1892.

But in spite of all the urgings of the Alliance leaders that the Alliance was "strictly nonpartisan," the third-party question simmered and boiled among most of the local and county Alliances throughout the winter and spring of 1892. By the middle of the year, the great bulk of the rank-and-file membership of the Alliances and many of their local leaders had decided to support a third party and affiliate with it. When third-party nominating conventions were held throughout the counties of the state and particularly in eastern Washington, Alliance members appear to have constituted the great majority of the new-party members. Former county Alliance leaders became the chief leaders of the third party. In Whitman County J. M. Reed, long-time Alliance worker and leader, became a wheelhorse in the new party. In reporting the third-party convention of Whitman County, a local paper stated: "Many old Alliance men's names appear on various committees."<sup>154</sup>

In its issue of June 10, 1892, the Democratic Colfax *Commoner*, which for two years had carried a full page of Alliance news, discussions, and lists of county, state, and national Alliance officers, and had been the chief spokesman of the Alliances in Whitman County and the state for three years, dropped its Alliance page.

*Alliance "Died of Third Party."*—In early January of 1892, as the fervor for a third party to represent the agrarian interests swelled among the Alliances, an Alliance member from one of the locals in Whitman County sent a letter to the Colfax *Commoner*, which the paper published and headed:

DIED OF THIRD PARTY  
THE FATE OF ALKI ALLIANCE NO. 16 SHOULD BE A  
WARNING TO OTHERS

This letter read:

Our Alliance met on the 11th day of July, with but small attendance and elected, or rather reelected, the old officers for the ensuing six months, and then adjourned to meet in three weeks, but harvesting came on, the farmers were busy and failed to meet at their regular meeting and consequently have failed to meet since.

At present writing the prospects are not very favorable for meeting this winter. If the thing is not dead I think it too far gone to be ever resuscitated. When the inquest is held, I think the verdict will be, "died of third party."

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<sup>154</sup> June 10, 1892.



Now sir, my idea is this, that the Alliance is a good thing and ought to be kept up; that the cooperation of farmers is right and is the only way in which the farmer can ever expect to hold his own against organized capital. But when the farmers organize into a political party and pledge their support to some broken down politician that will sell out the first chance he gets they are getting very far from the right track.<sup>155</sup>

By mid-summer of 1892, all over the state of Washington, the Alliance eggs, full of the meat of politics, were ready to hatch into third-party chicks. The work of the Alliances in Washington was done. But they had served as a prelude to the People's Party in the state.

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<sup>155</sup> January 15, 1892; *Columbia Chronicle*, January 30, 1892.

## LOWELL AND THE TWO DORAS

PAUL P. KIES

*Professor of English*

In a letter dated August 18, 1887—two years after the death of his second wife—James Russell Lowell wrote from London to Miss Dora Sedgwick as follows:

2 Radnor Place, Hyde Park, W.,

Aug. 18, 1887.

Dear Dora,—Many thanks for so kindly remembering me. But how clever women are in flattering us with their pretended jealousies! No, there may be another Dora, but the first will always have that pre-eminence of priority that belongs to the first snowdrop and the first bluebird. You are Dora I., D. G. ["D. G." perhaps stands for "*Dei Gratia*" or "Dora the Great."] . . . . .

Your little gift, dear Dora, has been very useful. I carry it in my pocket, not without fear of wearing away the birds and flowers, and so changing its summer to autumn, as my own has changed. I use it almost every day. . . .

Affectionately yours,

J. R. Lowell<sup>1</sup>

The other Dora seems to have been Miss Dora Wheeler, as is suggested by an unpublished Lowell letter that has recently come into the author's possession. Nowhere else has he been able to find any record of her association with Lowell. The letter reads as follows:

Deerfoot Farm,

3rd March, 1887.

Dear Mrs Wheeler,

*Gratitude first & then business. Your delightful picture (which is as clever as it can be) hangs opposite as I write & tears my heart into five pieces. I have had it prettily framed — no frame would be pretty enough for it — & adore it daily. The incense of my pipe rises daily & nightly before it.*

*As for the other matter, if you would make me as charming as you have made them, I would throw everything over & fly to you. But, till I get rid of some lectures I must do, I shall have no portrait*

---

<sup>1</sup> Charles Eliot Norton, ed., *Letters of James Russell Lowell* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1894), II, 341-43.

*to paint. I begin next Tuesday. Till then, I am busy here. Dare I ask you to come to me at 68 Beacon Street at 4 on that day? I don't know where the Victoria Hotel is & moreover am & shall be very tired. After this I mean to move permanently out of Grub Street & have my time to myself & to the most charming of her sect. Sex is plural — mark the clever way in which I distinguish a certain person from the rest. With kindest regards to your mother,*

*faithfully yours*

*J. R. Lowell*

*To think of your being so near, & yet I so far!*

Dora Wheeler, who married Boudinot Keith (a lawyer) in 1890 and is now generally known as Dora Keith, was a painter who specialize in portraits, particularly of writers, such as Mark Twain, William Dean Howells, Frank R. Stockton, Col. John Hay, and Mrs. Frances Hodgson Burnett. Other important productions are a portrait of the actress Mrs. George Henry Gilbert, and the design for the ceiling decorations of the capitol building of the state of New York. The Clemens portrait is in the Mark Twain Memorial Home in Hartford, Connecticut, that of Mrs. Gilbert is at The Players in New York, and some of her other work is in the Brooklyn Museum and the Boston Public Library. She became an Associate of the National Academy of Design in 1906. At the time of the letter (1887), she was only in her thirtieth year (b. May 22, 1857) and presumably had produced very little (if any) of the works for which she is now best known; but she had won a Prang Prize of five hundred dollars in 1885 and one of two thousand dollars in 1886. She died in 1940 at the age of eighty-three. Incidentally, she was an aunt of the statesman Henry L. Stimson.<sup>2</sup>

The salutation of the present letter is puzzling. The second word seems to be *Mrs.*, although Dora Wheeler was still unmar-

<sup>2</sup>For further information concerning Dora Wheeler Keith, see the *New York Times*, Dec. 28, 1940, p. 15; Mantle Fielding, *Dictionary of American Painters, Sculptors and Engravers* (New York: Paul A. Struck, 1945), p. 402; *Art Digest*, XV (1941), Jan. 15, p. 30; *Who's Who in American Art*, III (1940-41) (Washington, D. C.: American Federation of Arts, 1940), p. 350; *Who Was Who*, I (Chicago: A. N. Marquis Co., 1943), 660; *International Yearbook*, 1940 (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1941), p. 519.

ried and Lowell clearly wrote *Miss* in the other two places where the recipient's name is mentioned—on the envelope and at the bottom of the first page of the body. Two possibilities are that he (1) used *Mrs* in the old sense of “mistress” as “sweetheart” or (2) wished to compliment the lady as being of high rank or importance. Perhaps he did not yet venture to use “Dear Dora” but felt that the conventional, colorless *Miss* would have been too commonplace and cold, for the body of the letter seems to indicate that his attitude toward Dora Wheeler was not quite so casual as, five and a half months later (in the letter of August 18, 1887), he evidently wanted Dora Sedgwick to believe. The latter woman he addressed as “Dear Dora,” but he had probably known her from her girlhood, especially if she was a relative of his long-time friend Arthur Sedgwick, whose sister Susan was the wife of Charles Eliot Norton, another friend and the editor of the two-volume collection of Lowell letters<sup>3</sup> in which two to Dora Sedgwick were published. Besides the letter already referred to (August 18, 1887), a portion of one dated October 3, 1888, is included; the latter, however, contains nothing that suggests a love letter.<sup>4</sup> A third possibility is that the writing of *Mrs* was merely a slip of the pen.

The letter to Miss Wheeler indicates that she had given one of her paintings to Lowell (or perhaps to Mrs. Edward Burnett, his then only surviving child, in whose home he was living at the time), and that she had offered to paint his portrait. The author has not as yet been able to identify the picture which she gave to the poet, but the words “if you would make me as charming as you have made them” imply that it contained two or more human figures; if it was a painting of his five grandchildren (the children of his daughter), it would give point to the peculiar expression of “tears my heart into five pieces.” The Lowell portrait by Miss Wheeler probably did not materialize, inasmuch as the author has found no record of such a picture.

Lowell stated that he would begin some lectures the following Tuesday (in Boston) but that he expected thereafter to have his time for himself and “the most charming of her sect” (the word changed to “her” just before “sect” seems to have been

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<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 359-60.

Dearfoot Farm,

3<sup>rd</sup> March, 1887.

Dear Mr Wheeler,

Gratitude first & then kindness.  
Your delightful picture (which is as clear  
as it can be) hangs opposite as I write  
& tears my heart into five pieces. I  
have had it prettily framed - no frame  
would be pretty enough for it - & adore it  
daily. The incense of my pipe rises  
daily & nightly before it.

As for the other matters,  
if you would make me as charming  
as you have made them, I would throw  
everything over & fly to you. But, little  
I get rid of some lectures I must be,  
Miss Dora Wheeler.

I shall have no portrait to paint.  
I began last Tuesday. Till then, I  
am busy here. Dore. I ask you to  
come to me at 68 Beacon Street at  
4 on that day? I don't know where  
the Victoria Hotel is & moreover am  
& shall be very tired. After this I  
mean to move permanently out of  
Long Street & have my time to myself  
& to the most charming of <sup>her</sup> ~~their~~ sect.  
Sex is plural - mark the clearest way  
in which I distinguish a certain person  
from the rest. With kindest regards to.

Your mother, faithfully yours

M. B. B. B.

To think of your being so near, & yet so far.

"their"). In other words, lecturing and writing for the public had become rather irksome to him, and he was eager to retire. A few months before, he had given his conception of a writer as follows: "Then, too, I live in Grub Street—so called because nobody is allowed to turn butterfly there—and its inhabitants may *call* their time their own if they will, but it is somebody else's all the same."<sup>5</sup> In the present letter, he also complained of being "very tired."

Lowell's post office is not specified either in the heading of the letter or on the envelope, Deerfoot Farm having been merely the name of the home of his daughter and son-in-law at Southborough, Massachusetts, about twenty-five miles from Boston. Instead of a complete return address on the envelope, Lowell wrote only his name—in the lower left-hand corner of the front. The outside address is as follows:

*Miss Dora Wheeler,  
Victoria Hotel,  
Boston,  
Mass.*

The Boston address at which Miss Wheeler was asked to meet Lowell—68 Beacon Street—is the one regularly given by the poet in the headings of letters written by him during 1885-91 when he was at the home of his sister, Mrs. Mary Lowell Putnam. On the present occasion he gave six lectures before the Lowell Institute, but we do not know how often he saw Miss Wheeler during that time (he had returned to Southborough before April 8) and afterwards. They probably never became engaged.

The new letter is in Lowell's characteristic, charming style. It is a delightful addition to the published work of one of America's foremost letter-writers.

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<sup>5</sup> In a letter to Miss Lawrence, Dec. 25, 1886, Norton, *op. cit.*, II, 325.

# RESEARCH STUDIES OF THE STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON

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